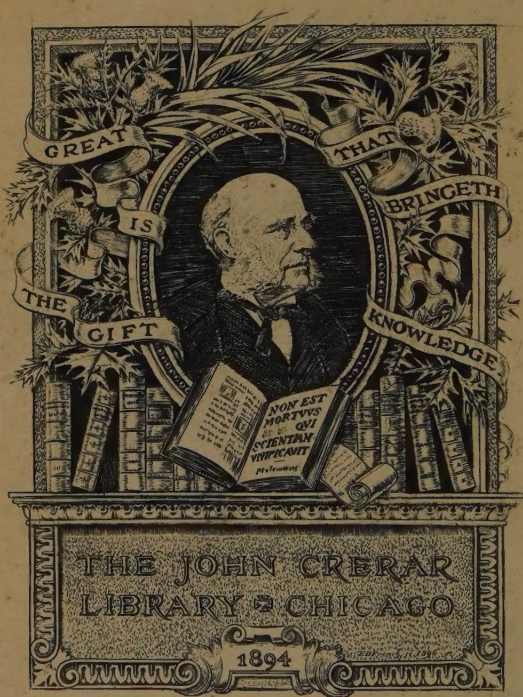


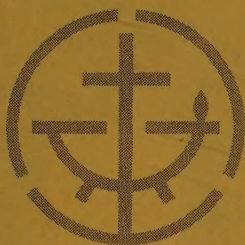
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REPORT OF CONFERENCE ON
PACIFIST PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

CAXTON HALL, LONDON

July 8th and 9th, 1915

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LONDON

PUBLISHED FOR

THE LEAGUE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM

BY

HEADLEY BROTHERS, 140, BISHOPSGATE, E.C.

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W. B. E. R.

THE
AMERICAN
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NATURAL HISTORY

FOREWORD

THE papers in this volume were read at the Conference upon the Pacifist Philosophy of Life, which was held in the Caxton Hall, London, on June 8th and 9th, 1915. At this Conference it was not intended to enter upon contentious discussions of the vexed questions of politics and diplomacy which have helped to produce the present European War nor the terms of settlement, but to deal with the permanent principles and enduring factors which are not affected by any transitory political situation; and there was no attempt to deal in any full extent with those specific proposals of immediate political or diplomatic action, such as Arbitration, Disarmament, Federation, etc., with which Peace Conferences are wont to deal almost exclusively.

It was the belief of the organizers of the Conference that the states of Peace or War depended for their existence upon many forces and conditions; emotional, intellectual, mechanical; religious, moral, economic; and that it is impossible to consider adequately the cause of Peace without considering the factors by which its progress is determined. The Programme of the Conference included discussions upon a number of aspects of those main causes which produce social and world phenomena, amongst them the terrible phenomenon of War; and it was hoped to accomplish something towards demonstrating that a design exists in human affairs and to arrive at an understanding of its expression.

It was an endeavour of the Conference to demonstrate the fact that the Peace Movement is a move-

FOREWORD

ment amongst others by which mankind tries to express its desire for a better existence, and that all these movements are one and indivisible, each assisting in the making of character and in the long upward struggle towards that higher, happier and fuller activity, which we call Peace. Especially was it the attempt of the Conference to express the truth that the Peace Movement cannot rely upon negative effort—the mere effort to abolish the undesirable—but can attain its objects only through the expression of a positive philosophy of life.

As will be seen, those who contributed papers did so from many standpoints; but, although it will be found that there are differences in detail and even on certain deep-rooted beliefs, there is a common acceptance that the affairs of Peace and War cannot be separated from the affairs of everyday social life; that the character which dominates the one produces the other.

It is much to be regretted that, for various reasons, it has been impossible to include valuable papers contributed by Professor Patrick Geddes, Mr. J. A. Hobson, Mr. Laurence Housman, Vernon Lee, and the Rev. Walter Walsh.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF PACIFISM.

BY

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

THE moral arguments against war may be roughly divided into three classes: first, those which deal with the intrinsic evils of war; secondly, those which point out the ethical uselessness of "punishing" a nation; thirdly, those which emphasise the practical impossibility of destroying by force what is of real value in a nation's life. On all these three subjects the thought of those who advocate war is full of confusions due to bias. To overcome the bias in favour of violence is a problem for the educationist; for the philosopher it is only possible to point out the false and fallacious arguments by which men are induced to believe that war is inevitable and even often beneficent.

I.

The intrinsic evils of war are so great and so obvious that it is hard to understand how men can treat them so lightly as they do. The Black Death and the Plague of London are always spoken of as national misfortunes; I cannot see why a similar destruction of human life should cease to be a misfortune when it is inflicted deliberately by the will of man. The evil is masked by the fact that half the loss falls upon nations which are called "enemies"; this half

is a subject of rejoicing, not of sorrow, and the other half of the loss is regarded as the price which must be paid to secure this source of joy. But only the blindness of war-time and the overwhelming thirst for victory can sustain such a point of view. Enemy soldiers, as much as our own, have mothers who mourn when they are killed, and capacities which might have been devoted to enriching the world instead of to destruction. In conflicts between civilised nations, whatever difference there may be in the political aims of the governments, there is probably little difference in the intrinsic value of individual men.

But it is sometimes urged that all the loss is more than compensated by the high moral qualities elicited in war. I do not wish in any way to belittle the value of courage; I place as high a value upon it as any militarist can do. But provided courage exists, it is not necessary that it should be displayed in the slaughter of other men equally courageous. And in fact the advocates of war are very partial in their recognition of courage: they have no good word for those who stand out against popular clamour, or endeavour to bring men to reason in times of excitement. Yet this form of courage is far less common, and far more indubitably of value to mankind.

Apart from the one quality of courage, the moral effects of war are almost wholly bad. Hatred, cruelty, injustice, untruthfulness, love of violence, are all recognised as vices in time of peace; but as soon as war breaks out, they are universally praised and stimulated, while lukewarmness in any one of them is denounced as a form of treachery. These effects are more marked in those who stay at home than in those who fight, since they are partly the result of nervous tension, and are relieved by vigorous action.

But they exist, to a greater or less extent, in many of those who fight. I have heard a wounded soldier—an innocent faced young Scotchman—boast merrily of running his bayonet through a disarmed German, who knelt before him weeping and imploring mercy. Another, whom I met in a train, caused intense delight to his fellow-passengers by assuring them that the French never take prisoners, that they cut off the ears of Germans and make necklaces of them. It is hard to conceive anything more ignoble than the pleasure of his hearers. Those who make wars have these men's souls to answer for as well as the bodies of those who fall.

In the more sensitive and humane type of soldier, the horror of war is apt to produce nervous collapse, either so complete as to require prolonged medical treatment, or of the less marked kind that leads to listlessness, lack of attention, and general inability for effort. It is to be feared that those in whom the war does not produce a callous brutality will be broken in will and incapable of playing their part in the national life.

II.

It is less important to dwell upon the evils of war—which must be patent to all—than to realise the illusory nature of the good which is supposed to be achieved by war.

Mr. Norman Angell is popularly thought to have based his arguments against war entirely upon the contention that modern war does not pay. He has in fact done his best to show the falsehood of all the moral, biological, and political excuses for war, but critics have fastened upon his economic arguments, and retorted triumphantly that those who go to war are not sordid money-grubbers like the pacifists,

but noble idealists, ready to kill their neighbours regardless of the cost to themselves. Nevertheless, the very men who speak thus will argue, as soon as war breaks out, that the conflict has been wickedly precipitated by our enemies, and that to make them keep the peace they must be so punished as to realise that war is not a good speculation. The very militarists, by their eagerness to prove that the enemy brought on the war, concede all that the lovers of peace have urged as to the wickedness of making war; and by their belief that punishment will produce a love of peace, they go far beyond Mr. Norman Angell in support of the thesis that militarists make wars because they think they pay. If war is such a fine thing as we are told that it is, why repudiate responsibility for bringing on war? If the motives for making war are as idealistic as they are said to be, why expect a nation not to fight unless it hopes to win? The nobler side of war is most prominent in a gallant struggle against overwhelming odds, yet every nation, in going to war, does its utmost to inflict this kind of struggle upon its adversaries. The whole farrago of inconsistencies is exhibited by Bernhardt's writings before and after the outbreak of war. Before the war, he argued that war is noble and morally elevating, because it is the only means to the aggrandisement of Germany; now he argues that the war was made by Germany's enemies, and was base because it aimed at *their* aggrandisement. The truth is—as all nations perceive where their enemies are concerned—that wars are always made for nationally selfish ends, and that the talk of nobility and moral regeneration is mere hypocrisy.

In all the nations now at war, it is agreed that aggressive war is a crime. In all the nations, the average citizen sincerely believes that war was forced on his Government by the unscrupulousness of the

enemy. In all the nations, it is held that this unscrupulousness makes it necessary to punish the enemy, since otherwise no stable peace will be possible. This whole conception of national punishment seems to me radically mistaken. Its psychological source is the desire for vindictive punishment, for making the criminal feel the sufferings he has inflicted. But it is no longer the fashion to acknowledge a belief in vindictive punishment: most men, now-a-days, consider it necessary, when they wish to inflict punishment, to maintain that its effect will be either preventive or reformatory. It is impossible for a punishment to be reformatory unless it makes the criminal feel his guilt. Now if the Germans were to succeed in defeating us, we should not on that account feel that we had been guilty—on the contrary, we should take it as evidence of their careful preparation for war, and as conclusive proof of their aggressiveness. We should nurse the thought of revenge, as France has done since 1870, and instead of being less warlike than before, we should be far more warlike.

All this applies with equal force to the hypothesis of the Germans being defeated. The ordinary German would regard defeat, not as evidence of his guilt, but as evidence of our artful diplomacy. He would resolve to be even better prepared next time, and would follow the advice of his militarists even more faithfully than in the past.

For these reasons, punishment by defeat in war is not likely to be reformatory.

It is no more likely to be preventive. Even if the nation which is defeated is very seriously weakened, it will remain anxious for revenge, and will sooner or later find its opportunity in the changing play of alliances. The mere fact that one nation is greatly weakened in comparison with others alters the European balance, and automatically produces new and

different systems of alliances. In that case, the existence of violent hatred on the part of any of the great powers, or even (as in the Balkans) on the part of minor powers, makes the actual occurrence of war far more likely than it would be if no such hatred existed. And every war that occurs, by keeping men's minds familiar with the thought of war as a possibility, postpones the day when it will be universally recognised as an unimaginable crime and folly. For these reasons, the punishment of an enemy nation which we consider aggressive has no more likelihood of being preventive than of being reformatory. Only the vindictive impulse causes men not to recognise this obvious fact.

On the other hand, love of peace is promoted by a nation which, like America at the present moment, refrains from fighting in spite of what is conventionally an unimpeachable *casus belli*, and in spite of almost complete immunity from the risk of defeat. The fact that a great nation can deliberately refuse to meet violence with violence, and can choose instead to adopt a course likely to diminish the amount of violence in the world, is much more capable of opening men's eyes to the madness of war than even the direst punishment. Violence breeds violence, and reason breeds reason. In private life, we all know that this is true. But in the relations of States, prestige and national pride blind our vision, as they did in private life when duelling was permitted. I have sometimes been asked, by men accustomed to a society addicted to the duel, what an English gentleman does when another gentleman insults him. The answer is that insults hardly ever occur. It is the practice of duelling which makes it seem not ungentlemanly to offer insults. And so the practice of war blinds nations to the brutality of a diplomacy based upon the threat of force.

III

The wickedness of offensive war is conceded, at this moment, by almost every man in Europe. Every nation protests that it was not the aggressor; nevertheless, the war exists, and war cannot take place without aggression somewhere. Aggressive actions, however, appear to be defensive when viewed with the bias natural to an aggressive nation. It is men's mental pictures, the furniture of their imaginations, that are the ultimate causes of their political actions. In every nation in Europe, before the war broke out, the ordinary peace-loving citizen believed, quite honestly, that in his own country the government and the powerful men were bent upon preserving the peace of the world, but that there were other countries full of envy and the lust of conquest, ready to attack his own country without warning whenever a favourable moment occurred. In every country this belief produced a state of fear, against which there seemed no safeguard except perpetually greater armaments and perpetually increasing readiness for instant battle. And the strategists continually assured men that attack is the only sound defence. In this state of affairs, even the most aggressive action could be represented as in intention merely defensive.

It is this condition of universal fear, carefully and industriously fostered by the militarists of all countries, which has in the past reconciled men who hated war to the continual preparation for war which was everywhere the main pre-occupation of the State. In every great nation there has been a small noisy party which loved conquest and aggressive war, and a large quiet body of men who believed that such parties, though powerless at home, were in control of policy abroad. The lovers of aggressive war have

proclaimed their hopes in ways likely to become known abroad, and they have taken pains to make known to their countrymen the similar hopes expressed by potential enemies. In this way, a small bellicose minority in each country has been able to obtain popular approval for all its measures, by representing them as measures of defence and essential to the prevention of war, while perfectly aware that they were in fact the measures most likely to bring war, and most certain to increase its destructiveness.

Mutual fear, great as it was before the war, has been greatly increased by the war. In every country, the war is held to have justified the militarists of that country in maintaining that enemy countries were only awaiting a favourable moment for attack, and regarded all love of peace on our parts as a mere proof of military weakness, and so an encouragement to their designs. Everywhere, the war is regarded as a war of self-defence. And, whatever may have been true of its origin, it has become, from the moment of its outbreak, in actual fact a war for self-defence. If, for example, the German Socialists had refused to participate in the war, either as soldiers or as munition workers, there can be little doubt that the war would soon have been on German soil. As soon as a war between great Powers breaks out, each individual citizen is faced with the fact that his country can only escape being invaded by successful fighting ; whatever he may privately think as to the origin of the war, the mere existence of war inevitably raises the paramount issue of self-defence. And hence even the most bitterly anti-German of Englishmen would usually concede that the individual German is doing his duty in fighting for his country at the present time.

So long as the right of self-defence is unreservedly admitted, no effective theoretical opposition to war is

possible. And so long as men cannot rise above the panic fear inspired by the possibility of hostile invasion, the state of tension and military preparation out of which war develops is almost inevitable. I think both the right and the duty of self-defence result from too material a conception of what constitutes human and national welfare. The only things worth fighting for are things of the spirit; but these things are not subject to force, and can be defended without the help of armies and navies. If men could be brought to see how much of the evils suffered by an invaded country are due to the resistance offered to invasion, if they could be brought to realise that what is of real value could not be endangered if a merely passive resistance were offered to the invader, it is possible that something of the fear which leads to war might be allayed, and that a link might be broken in the tragic chain of violence which is forged by the supposed duty of self-defence.

It is sometimes thought that self-defence must be justifiable because aggression is unjustifiable. Many men apparently hold that in a war one side must be in the right. It seems to me that in almost all wars both sides are in the wrong. When one nation attacks another, there is more guilt on the side of the attack than on the side of the defence, but it does not follow that there is no guilt on the side of the defence. In most cases of disputes between civilised nations, both the threat of force and forcible resistance to the threat are harmful, though not to the same extent. A nation which opposed force by a merely passive resistance would do more to discourage the use of force in international relations than can ever be done by a nation which opposes force by force. Passive resistance would discourage the use of force by arousing a sense of shame in the aggressive nation, and also by the fact that it would be found

able to preserve whatever is worth preserving in the life of the nation which had the courage to employ it.

Both in private life and in the life of nations, most situations can be met by the double principle of neither employing force nor obeying it. It is a familiar Platonic thesis that the man who inflicts injustice is more to be pitied than the man who suffers it. But such statements are read with a smile, as charming literary paradoxes, and are not taken as practical wisdom for the guidance of life. Yet the use of force to coerce another man's will, even in those rare cases in which it is justifiable, produces a brutal and tyrannous state of mind, and is more destructive of inward peace than any misfortune that can be inflicted from without. The greatest good that can be achieved in this life is to have will and desire directed to universal ends, purged of the self-assertion which belongs to instinctive will. A man who has once known this good will not consider any private end important enough to be fought for; he may be willing to enter upon a contest of force, but if so, it will be for some end outside his own life, since what is best in his own life cannot be taken from him by another. But although he will not dictate to others for his own ends, he will also not be turned aside from universal ends by others; he will be no more willing to obey than to command. He will preserve his own liberty as scrupulously as he respects the liberty of others.

Exactly similar considerations apply to the conduct of nations, but they are obscured by traditional phrases about "honour," "patriotism," "sacred traditions," or "the protection of women and children." It is assumed that a nation which does not oppose force with force must be actuated by cowardice, and must lose whatever is valuable in its civilisation. Both these are illusions. To oppose force by passive non-obedience would require

more courage, and would be far more likely to preserve the best elements of the national life. It would also do far more to discourage the use of force. This would be the way of practical wisdom, if men could be brought to believe it. People who object to the doctrine that might is right, always contend that it will be disproved by showing that might is on their own side. Yet that would only be a disproof if their side were in the wrong, and their argument shows that they really believe the doctrine they are pretending to combat. Those who genuinely disbelieve the doctrine will not attempt to disprove it by getting might on their side.

If England were to disband its army and navy after a generation of instruction in the principles of passive resistance, what would happen? Any foreign government which wished to take advantage of our defenceless condition would be faced, at the outset, by the opposition of whatever was not utterly brutal among its own citizens, since no possible cloak could be found to hide the nakedness of aggression. In such a case, it would be impossible to find the kind of excuse which civilised nations always seek when they engage in war. In the present war, the Germans attacked France because France had an army; the English attacked Germany because Germany had a navy. If no pretext of national safety could be found, it would be almost impossible to overcome the opposition of all liberal sentiment to an invasion which could have no motive except plunder.

Even if an expedition were sent, it would not be in the state of mingled fear and ferocity which characterises an invading army engaged in quelling armed resistance; discipline would be easily preserved, and atrocities would be few. The greater part of the horrors accompanying invasion would be absent.

But as soon as the invaders attempted to establish civil government, they could be met by the method of the general strike. This method, when it is adopted on a large scale, is capable of extorting success in political conflicts within a nation, as it did in Russia in 1905. In a civilised, highly organised, highly political state, government is impossible without the consent of the governed, unless the population concerned is very small in comparison with that of the oppressors. Any object for which a considerable body of men are prepared to starve and die can be achieved by political means, without the need of any resort to force. And if this is true of objects only desired by a minority, it is a thousand times more true of objects desired unanimously by the whole nation.

Such a method of dealing with invasion would, of course, require fortitude and discipline. But fortitude and discipline are required in war. For ages past education has been largely directed to producing these qualities for the sake of war. They now exist so widely that in every civilised country almost every man is willing to die on the battlefield, whenever his government thinks the moment suitable. The same courage and idealism which are now put into war could quite easily be directed by education into the channel of passive resistance. I do not know what losses England may suffer before the present war is ended, but if they amount to a million no one will be surprised. An immensely smaller number of losses, incurred in passive resistance, would prove to any invading army that the task of subjecting England to alien domination was an impossible one. And this proof would be made once for all, without dependence upon the doubtful accidents of war.

What stands in the way of our adopting the policy of passive resistance is partly fear, but partly also

the pride of dominion. For it must be confessed that this policy is incapable of preserving to us those parts of our Empire which we hold by force. But although pride of dominion could not be gratified without an army and a navy, another kind of pride, more worthy of encouragement, would find a scope which is now denied to it. Pride has its place among virtues in the lives of individuals as well as in the lives of nations. Pride, in so far as it is a virtue, is a determination not to be turned aside from the ends which a man thinks good, no matter what outside pressure may be brought to bear upon him. There is pride in Condorcet, sentenced to the guillotine, spending his last days in writing a book on human progress. There is pride in those who refuse to recant their religious convictions under persecution. Such pride is the noblest form of courage ; it shows that self-determination of the will which is the essence of spiritual freedom. But such pride should have as its complement a just conception of what constitutes human welfare, and as its correlative a respect for the freedom of others as absolute as the determination to preserve freedom for ourselves. Exactly the same kind of pride is good in the life of a nation. If we think ill of war, while some other nation thinks well of it, let us show our national pride by living without war, whatever temptations the other nation may put in our way to live according to their ideals rather than according to our own. The Germans, we are given to understand, hate us with a bitter hatred, and long to believe that we feel towards them as they feel towards us ; for unrequited hatred is as bitter as unrequited love. They have made it increasingly difficult not to gratify their desire ; but in so far as we can keep our resistance free from bitterness we win a spiritual victory over what deserves to be combated in the enemy, which is far more

important than any victory to be won by guns and bayonets.

Passive resistance, if it were adopted deliberately, by the will of a whole nation, with the same measure of courage and discipline which is now displayed in war, might achieve a far more perfect protection for what is good in national life than armies and navies can ever achieve, without demanding the carnage and waste and welter of brutality involved in modern wars.

Nevertheless, it is hardly to be expected that progress will come in this way, because the imaginative effort required is too great. It is much more likely that it will come, as the reign of law within the State has come, by the establishment of a central government of the world, able and willing to secure obedience by force, because the great majority of men will recognise that obedience is better than the present international anarchy. A central government of this kind will command assent, not as a partisan, but as the representative of the interests of the whole. Very soon resistance to it would be seen to be hopeless, and wars would cease. Force directed by a central authority is not open to the same abuse, or likely to cause the same long-drawn conflicts, as force exercised by quarrelling nations, each of which is the judge in its own cause. Although I firmly believe that the adoption of passive instead of active resistance would be good if a nation could be convinced of its goodness, yet it is rather to the ultimate creation of a strong central authority that I should look for the ending of war. But war will only end after a great labour has been performed in altering men's moral ideals, directing them to the good of all mankind and not only of the separate nations into which men happen to have been born.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF PACIFISM.

BY

EDWARD G. SMITH.

IN certain circles, when a man utters an opinion or a dogma which is unpopular, he is advised—or commanded—to speak for himself. I am going to speak for myself, because only those who deliberately speak for themselves can hope to speak for anyone else. It is the deliberate attempt to speak for other people which has rendered ineffective so much well-intentioned effort in propagandist movements. The Pacifist movement has been especially subject to this weakness. Too often it has been the endeavour of the pacifist to find a quiet, commonplace “mean” at which, he thinks, he and the rest of the world can live comfortably and inconspicuously. He gives to this “mean” the name of “public opinion” or “international morality,” or some other respectable abstraction which disappears at the first puff of violent human action, because what he has been pleased to call “public opinion” or “international morality” is neither the one thing nor the other. The discovery of this shocks and annoys him.

He, himself, is filled with a more or less ardent desire for elimination; the desire to eliminate War. “If this were only cleared away it would, indeed, be grand!” The world picture is not pleasant to his taste: he finds the scheme of colouring too violent, and, as he is not an artist, he does not understand

that if he merely eliminated the blacks and reds the whole picture would fall to pieces. If he were an artist, he would know that the proper thing to do is to produce an entirely new picture—even more active and much more beautiful. For the true reformer—and the pacifist is, or should be, a world-reformer—must be an artist in the widest sense ; and the artist is the livest and liveliest creature in the world.

It has been too often that the pacifist has not been an artist. He has been a perfectly respectable person with perfectly respectable ideals, who has carefully cultivated the vision of Tennyson, in one of his moods, of the world in a state of Peace :

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.

That has been the vision which has haunted many peaceful minds. It seems to have been peculiarly suited to a certain Victorian development. It is the quintessence of negative placidity. There is no suggestion of living “dangerously” about it. One can imagine a vast, sleek head—with whiskers—reclining heavily upon a vast antimacassar. From time to time, one watery eye would half open and the lips would utter the sacred words, “*Laissez faire*” : then the eye would close again and the slumber continue until the next respectable paroxysm. That is what many persons meant, and some persons still mean, by Peace. I need not tell you that that soft pillow of society is not a Pacifist and will never have the slightest notion of what Pacifism is.

The Pacifist is an exceedingly alert and active person. He must work unremittingly and cultivate the universe as his garden. His eyes must be wide open and he must think furiously. Eyes have they but they see not ; ears have they but they hear not ;

souls have they but they think not. For a man thinks with his soul. It is not the disgusting fighting which is the greatest disgrace to Europe at the present time, but the disgusting thinking.

The complete pacifist must think more than anyone else, and he must think more clearly than anyone else. He must think so clearly that his vision cannot be confused by the emotions of the blind. This is the most exacting effort of sight. Yet anyone imagines he can be a pacifist ; that it is easier to be a pacifist than to be a paper-hanger. In Bernard Shaw's play, "Major Barbara," there is a young man who has no development or aptitude which fits him for any useful or effective occupation in the whole world, and yet that young man remarks, blandly and confidently, that he knows the difference between right and wrong ; that such knowledge is the birthright of every Englishman. To him the hardest thing in the world appears the easiest. It is the pacifist's task to discover and demonstrate the difference between right and wrong. He must endeavour to overlook the world so that he can see north and south, east and west ; that he can see right and wrong, and know that they are not right and *left*, but forward and backward.

As Nietzsche puts it, "The simplification of the world always consists in the fact that the glance of the intelligent man overmasters the immense profusion and wildness of an apparent chaos, and unites that which before seemed hopelessly scattered."

It is a great—to some it may seem an impossible—adventure to see life in all its parts, and to correlate them so that the whole appears simplified ; to put the pieces of the puzzle together so that the design may be seen.

It is the task of Pacifism to help humanity to this outlook point : to indicate to men the path, to help their steps and to explain the vision. There are some

who can leap there, without help or hesitation. Others must arrive, step by step, with great effort. But to none is the adventure impossible. *All that is necessary is to learn the lesson of evolution.* The pacifist is the intelligent evolutionist. Anyone who can clearly look backward can surely leap forward, and become the real super-man—the man of Peace.

There is a common saying that history repeats itself. If that were so, it would be the fault of humanity. If it were true it would be the most terrible fact imaginable. It was that very idea of eternal recurrence—the everlasting re-happening of things, unchanged and inevitable—which weighed so on the straining soul of Nietzsche. He understood that the only way out of the damned circle was to fight a way out; to project the super-man: the higher and finer man: the man who has not been: the man who is not a mere repetition. The man who is all man and not half man and half beast. The truth lies in the idea of eternal progression, through the effort—the intense, pioneer effort—of the few; those few in all ages whom I will venture to call pacifists.

What is it we pacifists desire? We desire a finer, more beautiful, more sympathetic world. And if we look back far enough, with the help of the seer, the poet, the historian, the biologist, the student of social change, we shall find that the world has always been growing finer, more beautiful, more sympathetic: that history *has not* repeated itself: that we have no need to fear the damned circle of eternal recurrence. It is true that war has, time after time, hurled humanity backwards, but not back to the starting-place. That is the thing to remember. Those who read this war through the medium of the newspapers and the current magazines may believe that never was a war fought with so much bestiality and ferocity. But those who know more than newspapers can ever

tell them will know that, in the west of Europe at any rate, never was a great war fought with so great a proportion of human sympathy and forbearance. In each army there are some men who have been flung back to utter bestiality; but if the conduct and feelings of the average fighting soldier of to-day were compared with the conduct and feelings of the average fighting soldier of three, or even one, hundred years ago, it would be found that humanity does not quite repeat itself, even when it is subject to the re-barbarisation of war.

It is for humanity to *prevent* this re-barbarisation. That sounds simple and platitudinous enough. But how is it to be accomplished? It is to be accomplished, as all progress has been accomplished, by the infectious and inspiring example of certain individuals. The mass will never progress, as a mass, of its own accord. The pioneers must call to it; hold out helping, loving hands to it. And the pioneers must always be on ahead; they must never step back into the mass and become themselves "herdsmen." The pioneer who does that is a traitor to humanity. The pacifist is a pioneer. That is why the pacifist must never shout for war; must never even whisper for war: why he must *always* shout confidently for peace. In the midst of the war cries of the multitude, he must have but one cry, "Peace": in the midst of the calculations of the captains, he must have but one thought, "Peace." For the world in which each man lives is his own world. The pacifist does not live in the world of the battling crowds. It is idle for the journalist and the politician to tell him that he does: he does not. You, in this room, who are pacifists do not live in Cæsar's world and can therefore own no allegiance to Cæsar. Cæsar is for war: you are for peace. "Are you for peace at any price?" ask the journalist and the politician. Peace is beyond

any price the world knows. For peace humanity is greatly rewarded: for war the punishment—the price—is always heavy, and is exacted to the uttermost farthing. It is the punishment of stepping backward; of losing caste.

What does it mean, that glib phrase, “Are you for peace at any price?” It means, “Are you always determined to offer gentleness and understanding to brutality and ignorance? Are you determined to be always a man and never a beast? Are you determined to be true to humanity? to aid humanity to conquer in the hard struggle for a higher existence? Will you help or hinder evolution?”

There was a story I heard Jane Addams tell of a young Dukhobor, who refused to do his military service and was brought before a Russian officer, to whom he spoke eloquently of Christian ideals. “That is all very well,” replied the officer, “but the time has not come for that.” “It may not have come for you,” answered the young Dukhobor, “but it has come for me.” Even to-day, when half the world is struggling murderously, the time has come for the pacifist.

There are many who are pacifists to whom the name has never been applied; who have never thought of themselves as pacifists, but, by living a life of obscure struggle for good, of unostentatious example in small things, have helped the world to a realisation of pacifist ideals, as M. Jourdain spoke prose for years without knowing it. They have not thought of world politics, they have not been associated with peace organisations; they have been peaceful men and women, returning gentleness for violence to those about them. “What contemptible, poor creatures!” the journalists and the politicians would exclaim. It is the hardest thing in the world always to return gentleness for violence. Those who can live thus hardly are the truly blessed peacemakers.

For the pacifist is one who really believes in moral force and believes that it is stronger than physical force, as the higher is always stronger than the lower and cannot fail as the instrument of righteousness. He who opposes cannon to cannon does but add to the sum of cannon; he who opposes hate to hate does but add to the sum of hate. Continue to hack and crash your way through life and you will hack and crash your way through eternity; you will remain the perpetual slave of the war spirit. Put aside your guns in face of the opposing guns and you will show that you have learned well the lesson of human history—that all progress has been made by the displacement of the grosser by the finer; and that this law, like all natural laws, is invariable. There is no occasion when the law is relaxed; when peace can be made by cannon; when Satan will, or can, cast out Satan.

Wrote John Morley,

“Moral principles, when they are true, are at bottom only registered generalisations from experience. They record certain uniformities of antecedence and consequence in the region of human conduct. Want of faith in the persistency of these uniformities is only a little less fatuous in the moral order than a corresponding want of faith would instantly disclose itself to be in the purely physical order. In both orders alike there is only too much of this kind of fatuousness, this readiness to believe that for once in our favour the stream shall flow up hill, that we may live in miasmatic air unpoisoned.”

It is “this kind of fatuousness” which makes men talk about a war to end war. The man who believes that war can ever end war is one without knowledge and without vision; who has not learned the lesson of evolution and human development? Or, if he have, has learned it so imperfectly that he believes that for once in his favour the stream shall flow up hill? But it is more probable that he has not learned it at all; that he has not learned *how* the higher and finer have been produced or why. If he can truly stand on that outlook point where life becomes

simplified to the seeing eye, he will detect a myriad onward-going waves, each doing something to bear humanity to its goal; a myriad rivers all running into the sea of attainment. And though these waves and rivers will be many, the waters of all will be as one—the water of understanding and sympathy and freedom of expression. Borne on the foremost waves will be seen a multitude of leaders, speaking many tongues, but all with the same message—the message of Peace and Liberation; liberation from the shackles which have restrained the highest possibilities of humanity; its faith in itself; its sympathy towards others; its understanding of all. The mission of pacifism is to liberate. Bound up in the universe, awaiting liberation, is an infinite variety of fine and splendid entities. All development has been from the simple and the uniform to the complex and the various. Even now, to those who can see, the variety is amazing. The eye of the artist-philosopher sees them: for every true philosopher is an artist and every true artist a philosopher. And there is in every true artist a pacifist who hates war, which does but destroy the fine and the beautiful and the various. Even now, partially developed as we are—as our surroundings are—there is so much beauty that we should find in it inspiration for our strongest efforts.

“The world is so full of such wonderful things” that the wonder of them should open our eyes. We should see that our intensest satisfaction is derived from the finest and the freest and the most various; we should see that the bond and the uniform weary and repel us. War depends upon the bondage and uniformity of discipline. If we learned the lesson of this, we should know that it is by freedom man will reach perfection. And not only by freedom from the tyranny of kings and statesmen, but freedom

from the tyranny of his own past—the greatest tyranny of all. Man must slough off his grossness, and appear bright and active, a free personality, which will not make nor suffer war; which will not be ruler nor subject.

In the wonderfully beautiful words of Oscar Wilde:—

“It will be a marvellous thing—the true personality of man—when we see it. It will grow naturally and simply, flower-like, or as a tree grows. It will not be at discord. It will never argue or dispute. It will not prove things. It will know everything. And yet it will not busy itself about knowledge. It will have wisdom. Its value will not be measured by material things. It will have nothing. And yet it will have everything, and whatever one takes from it, it will still have, so rich will it be. It will not be always meddling with others, or asking them to be like itself. It will love them because they will be different. And yet while it will not meddle with others, it will help all, as a beautiful thing helps us by being what it is. The personality of man will be very wonderful. It will be as wonderful as the personality of a child.

“In its development it will be assisted by Christianity, if men desire that, but if men do not desire that it will develop none the less surely. For it will not worry itself about the past, nor care whether things happened or did not happen. Nor will it admit any laws but its own laws; nor any authority but its own authority. Yet it will love those who sought to intensify it, and speak often of them. And of these Christ was one.

“‘Know thyself’ was written over the portal of the antique world. Over the portal of the new world, ‘Be thyself,’ shall be written. And the message of Christ was simply, ‘Be thyself.’”

That is the message of Pacifism—“Be thyself”—thy highest self; and by understanding and sympathy help others to be their highest and finest selves.

The task of Pacifism—the task of driving war from the world—will be a long one. It is nothing less than the task of producing the perfect man. It is the task of changing the spirit and character of humanity; of banishing from the world domination and repression and denial. The denial of freedom; the denial of happiness; the denial of beauty.

And in War is all these denials. For the war spirit is found not only in the camp and the battlefield. It is found in every act of government; in every act of the crowd; in the majority of the acts of the individual. It is an expression of the war spirit to deny women citizenship; to deny men and women the growth of their personality by crushing them in an industrial machine; to deny to nations their development by inflicting upon them the tyranny of the state; to deny to the sub-human creatures the help of our sympathy by driving them, loading them, devouring them and torturing them.

He who tries to work in a water-tight compartment of inter-state contracts will never do the work of Pacifism. He must see the design from the largest star to the tiniest moth, which includes not only our human brothers and sisters, but our brothers and sisters in fur and feather, in leaf and petal, and they must each and all have a place in his conscious effort.

He must know that all the movements working for freedom and development are parts of the movement working for Peace. That one part cannot exist fully without all the others in their fulness; that they are one and indivisible. By the intensity of his knowledge he will impart it to others and so to all. It is by sympathetic knowledge and its diffusion that the world has so far progressed. Beyond the knowledge is the desire for the higher state—the state of Peace. It is this knowledge that we call Culture.

To quote the high priest of Culture, Matthew Arnold:—

“The pursuit of perfection, then, is the pursuit of sweetness and light. He who works for sweetness and light works to make reason and the will of God prevail. He who works for machinery, he who works for hatred, works only for confusion. Culture looks beyond machinery, culture hates hatred, culture has one

great passion, the passion for sweetness and light. It has one even yet greater!—the passion for making them *prevail*. It is not satisfied till we *all* come to a perfect man; it knows that the sweetness and light of the few must be imperfect until the raw and unkindled masses of humanity are touched with sweetness and light."

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF NON-RESISTANCE.

BY

EVA GORE-BOOTH.

ALL of us who have been thinking about the present war must surely have been struck by two facts that at first sight seem to contradict each other. First of all there has never been a war in the world's history in which have been engaged so many kindly, humane and enlightened people, who hate the whole horrible business from the bottom of their hearts, who are fighting from a sense of duty, and who are anxious to civilise war and carry it on with as little cruelty and as much humanity as may be. Secondly, in spite of this, this war is a specially fearful, destructive and cruel war, it affects non-combatants on a larger scale and more terribly perhaps than war has ever done before in history. It is, in fact, causing the most gigantic accumulation of pain and misery and death that the world has ever seen.

And this seems to be chiefly because we are cleverer than our ancestors. Now to my mind it is not the least of the condemnations of war, that, the cleverer you are at it, the more intolerable it becomes. It is only if you are very stupid and primitive in your methods that it is at all endurable to humanity. Take, for instance, the fact, that we have all read in the papers, that one shell from a naval gun has killed 500 people and destroyed six months' stores, and

contrast that with the amount of damage done by the bows and arrows of our ancestors. When we think how imperfect is our present understanding of scientific forces, and yet what we can do with it, we must realise that unless we make some vital change in our way of looking at life, every step in our advancing knowledge of science is a new danger for the human race, and that perfection in that knowledge might really and practically work out at the wiping out of humanity itself.

Now it is no wild Utopian theory but a hard practical fact that those among us who think life worth preserving as in itself a good and beautiful thing, who have some kind of faith or interest in the human race, have only two courses open to them, to make war on science and to save ourselves through stupidity, or to make war on war. To try to stop the progress of science, as the churches found in the Middle Ages, is a desolate and hopeless enterprise, as it is making war on that progress and evolution which is an essential part of life itself. To stop scientific development and research, even in the interests of the survival of the race, is of course an absurd and impossible idea, and, if it were not, which of us would care to survive at the expense of our brains?

When people in the Middle Ages found that there was beginning to be a clash between their scientific and their religious ideas, their first impulse was to try and stamp out this science which they felt to be a danger to their religious life. When they found fire and sword could not stop the growth of knowledge, they began to readjust their religious views to such good purpose that, nowadays, it would seem quite absurd to us to think that the fact that the earth goes round the sun could upset anyone's religious faith. Has not our knowledge, like theirs, outgrown our wisdom, and is not therefore the necessary task before us

not to decrease our knowledge but to increase our wisdom. Whilst our science is the science of the twentieth century, our morality is the morality of the Middle Ages. Is there not some understanding we might attain to, which would allow us to profit from the wonderful discoveries of Science as regards the annihilation of space, the resulting drawing together of the race, whilst resisting the temptation of using them to destroy our neighbours?

Now, personally, I do not believe that the human race is going to rush to its own destruction. We are not Gadarene swine, animals rushing headlong over a precipice at the mercy of some blind and infatuated instinct of self-preservation, but human beings, with minds and capacity for thought, and it only remains to be seen how much suffering it will take to stir our minds into activity on unaccustomed lines, to force us to question the philosophy and traditions of the past, the host of suggestions that have surrounded us from infancy.

It is useless to think you can ameliorate or civilise war. If Science discovers more effectual means of destroying masses of human beings, those means will be inevitably used. For as the object of war is to maim, kill, weaken and cripple your adversary into a state of helplessness, savagery and unscrupulousness will help a nation to win, whilst humanity, scrupulousness or pity must inevitably tend to failure. As a matter of fact, the standard in war must always be set by the most savage combatant. The kingdom of hell as well as the kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed. We may begin by making resolutions to be moderate, civilised or humane. But standards are quickly lowered by the pressure of an iron necessity, passions develop by the way, and those who are carrying on war will soon find that they are carrying on a crazy competition in destructive cruelty, and that

when once the grain of mustard seed is planted, it grows swiftly and inevitably into a great tree that overshadows the earth and hides the sun.

Faced with this appalling calamity of present cruelty and destructiveness of war and the unthinkable horror of its future development, we are justified in trying to find some way of thought, some change in our ideals, that will make war impossible. I hope nobody thinks this is a mean motive, like being driven into a religious life through the fear of hell. We know that no religion could be founded on fear. And yet, on the other hand, nobody could think it mean or cowardly, when in a community, after some frightful experience of the ravages of cholera, small pox or typhus, people are driven to reconsider their way of life in the light of the laws of hygiene and cleanliness.

Now I want to take all this, for a moment, from the point of view of the wisdom to be found in the New Testament. I suppose the key to every religion is to be found in its conception of God. In the New Testament one finds two conceptions of God, one is Light, the other is Love. I do not think it will be denied that Light and Love are the same things as knowledge and humaneness. If it is true that every advance in knowledge makes war more intolerably anti-humane than before, and every advance in humanity must make it more unsuccessful, how can anyone who believes in the Divine Nature of light and love or knowledge and humanity not see that there is something utterly irreconcilable in the essence of war itself, with that conception of Divinity, no matter in what cause the war is begun?

Those who think that force is allowable in a good cause, as what has been called high-handed righteousness, though not in a bad one, have to face the fact that this theory would justify almost every violence in history. Agamemnon sacrificed Iphigenia

for the purest motives of patriotism. In the Middle Ages, all sorts of people, such as Joan of Arc, Giordano Bruno, Latimer, Father Campion, and thousands of others on both sides were burned or hung in the cause of religion. Christ was crucified to save disorder and rioting, and because it was necessary one man should die for the people. Socrates was poisoned because his teaching was considered a danger to the State. Every war that has ever been fought, civil or international, has been fought for at least two good causes, one on each side, because naturally every cause is a good cause to its adherents. For indeed whatever the cause of violence may be, its result is always the same, no amount of good motive makes any difference to the amount of pain, suffering and death brought into the world by violence. "Oh, Liberty, what crimes are done in thy name," exclaimed Madame Roland, and, indeed, one often thinks that the cruellest deeds of the world have been done by those human beings who have been able to convince themselves that strong measures are justified in the defence of all they hold most sacred, be it religion or patriotism, or liberty, or even the safety of those they love.

The question is, are we going on for ever with all the cruelty and destruction of war, saying that it is inevitable that we should do evil in a good cause, or are we to find some other way of serving liberty and justice and noble causes, that does not involve the wholesale massacre of human beings. If it is true that violence for righteousness' sake results logically and surely in a measure of suffering and destruction, not the least lessened by the goodness of the cause, but in exact proportion to the amount of violence used, it must surely be true that in some way or other our popular standard of right and wrong has been mistaken, that the fact that we have fallen not into a ditch but over a precipice, means undoubtedly and

truly that the blind have been leading the blind. Now it sounds paradoxical, but is nevertheless true, that nobody will arrive at the idea of non-resistance unless he has most strongly cultivated his powers of mental resistance to suggestion. For to arrive at the substitution of goodwill for force in human relations one must be able to resist the sway of a host of ideas and assumptions that have come to be an integral part of the subconsciousness of a great many people. Ideas such as, "You must be ready to fight in a great and noble cause," "You must stick up for your friends and crush your enemies," "If you see the strong attacking the weak you must go and knock down the strong," "You must help your side against the other side," "You must be ready to face fearful odds in the defence of all that is dear to you." You must in fact use force and coercion, though with regret, when it is necessary to secure the triumph of good against evil.

I think all these ideas get their influence on our minds from the fact that they have a certain amount of truth in them. For instance, if you are going to fight at all, it is better to fight in a good cause. If you must crush your enemies, it is a step in the right direction to stick up for your friends. If you must take sides in a fight, it is less mean to help the weak against the strong, than to help the strong against the weak. If you must kill, it is more generous to do so in defence of other people's lives than in defence of your own. If you feel it necessary to use force and coercion in your relations to the world, it is better to strive consciously for the triumph of good than to fight for the possession of money or power. If you are going to use a wrong method it is perhaps better to do it for a right motive. The idea that lies behind all these phrases, inspiring and justifying them, is one that has caused great havoc and suffering in human affairs. Most people, indeed, take for granted,

without discussion or insistence, that a human being is naturally a fighter, and that a criticism of causes and methods is the only concern that morality can have with the question of war. And this again is a half truth, because every human being is indeed, naturally a fighter, but not a fighter against other people. Our brains and arms are weapons indeed in the great struggle of humanity with adverse forces, mental and physical, but to use them to destroy other people is to turn our weapons against our friends, and by doing so to lose ground in the real battle, the battle of evolution, by which the human race is seeking to wrest knowledge and unity, happiness and beauty out of a world of stubborn and adverse forces.

To concentrate all our force and courage and heroism in this struggle is the opportunity that comes to those who refuse to use these qualities in a struggle against other living beings. To those who believe in the oneness of the Spirit of the Universe, whether in its old Eastern form as the doctrine of the unity of all things, or put into modern theological language as the unity and Fatherhood of God, such a change of the field of battle will seem natural enough. It is curious to note how the foundation of this idea has been strengthened by the discovery in modern science of the unity of all physical life, involved in the idea of evolution, and popularised as a vague insistence on our relations to the monkeys. The fact of this physical brotherhood makes more real to us what many people look upon as a mystical Eastern dream, that sense of unity which is the inspiration of all art, whether it is expressed in the subtle relations of the vibrations of colour and form, or the mysterious movements and affinities of rhythmical sound, or the strange new values and sympathies and identities involved in poetic imagery. Again and again this haunting sense of the

oneness of reality has inspired revolutionary genius in the attempt to bring new values and relations into our mental and moral outlook. Indeed, the two great religions of the world that have been founded on a logical conception of the unity of all life, Christianity and Buddhism, have also been united in their effort to set a new ideal before humanity. Instead of the mighty and successful warrior, the knight errant rescuing the distressed, rewarding his friends and punishing his enemies, we have, in Buddhism, the ideal of the friend of all the world, the enlightened and all-powerful man who, as Buddha says, "neither contends nor kills, who desires not to get the victory, who is moved by goodwill to all the world." The conception of a character who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, and when he suffered threatened not, who loved his enemies, did good to those who hated him, and would not allow his friends to strike a blow in his defence, or in the defence of the cause he represented, but suffered the last extremity of pain and death without a struggle or even a protest, seems far removed from what we know of the stormy fighting gods of the Celtic, Teutonic or Scandinavian nations. On the whole, such an ideal seems also foreign to the orthodox religions of Egypt, Greece and Rome, though here and there among the Greeks we find traces of such thoughts. They are also to be found in the writings of the Chinese philosopher, Lao Tze, a contemporary of Buddha's, whose belief in the power of gentleness is one of his most characteristic thoughts. There is something very human and modern about his complaint of the unreasonableness of people :—

"Nothing on earth is so weak and yielding as water, but for breaking down the firm and strong it has no equal. All the world knows that the soft can wear away the hard and the weak can conquer the strong, but none can carry it out in practice."

It was perhaps in ancient India that the sway of the gods of force and conquest was first disputed by the foreshadowings of a new philosophy, a philosophy put into form by Buddha five hundred years before the birth of Christ in such words as these, "If a man foolishly does me wrong, I will return to him the protection of my ungrudging love, the more evil comes from him the more good shall go from me," and again, "what now, brothers, is right action, a man, brothers, has given up killing, without stick or sword, compassionate, full of sympathy, he cherishes kindness and pity for all living things."

The story of the pilgrims and the lion is an illustration of the logical completeness and unflinchingness of Buddha's point of view.

FROM THE DHAMMAPHADA.

Two pilgrims journeyed through a desert place
To find the grove where that world-honoured one
Preached unto men and Devas, by God's grace
A lion met them at the set of sun.

Unto the love of all things bound and vowed,
One pilgrim dared to die nor drew his sword,
And his white soul, winged like a silver cloud,
Stood with the Deva throng before the Lord.

The other, gazing on his brother's clay,
Longed so for the Lord Buddha, that he slew
The lion standing on the Holy Way,
Nor any gentle dream of pity knew.

But stumbled on the path and wandered far,
And toiled across the sandy desert wide,
And found our Lord under the evening star
And a bright Deva standing by his side.

And knew his comrade by the lion slain,
And marvelled much and longed to see him there,
Deeming him rotting on the distant plain
Who dwells with Buddha in the inner air.

Whence come you brother, whom I left for dead,
Such worlds away by that fierce lion torn?
Ah, long I wait for you, the Deva said,
Here by his side who waits for all things born.

And gently on those brave companions smiled,
The Lord of all things at the inner gates,
Where through long centuries with blood defiled
Gotama, dreaming, for the Lion waits.

The idea of the unity of life and its capacity for perfection is expressed very strikingly in this story, where the three persons of the legend, the one pilgrim in his self-defence, the other in his non-resistance, and even the lion himself in his aggressive fierceness, are represented as all journeying by degrees to the same goal of universal love and unity, the goal that Buddha himself has already attained to after many lives in different forms.

Again we read in the Dhammaphada, how Buddha, in explaining the reason of a misfortune that has befallen some seemingly innocent person, tells that in a past life the sufferer has been guilty of causing the same pain to somebody else, as he says, "that which I now do in my body hereafter shall I myself receive," or of the mercy earned by another man, because of the mercy he has himself shown, as in the story where he explains his own kindness to a very revolting mendicant after appealing to general principles of mercy and deliverance, by telling how, in a past life, this very mendicant was executioner to a wicked king, and that he had shown mercy in one particular case to a man who begged for it, and Buddha ends the story by saying, "As I was the man who begged for mercy, my lot is now to help this wretched man as he had mercy on me." The theory seems to be that, because of the unity of life, you can never escape the consequences of your actions, for what you do to another you do potentially to yourself. This is no question of a punishing God, but, as the future flower is contained in the bulb, or to use a modern illustration, as the photograph is contained in the undeveloped film, so does every deed of force involve future force against

yourself, every cruel action means a future suffering from cruelty, every act of rigid justice against some offender works out in the end as an act of rigid justice against yourself, and every action of kindness or mercy means kindness and mercy earned by the doer, in the midst of those circumstances produced in a future life by one's present actions. And this, because it is part of the little understood nature of things, that as all life is one, all actions one does are really and practically done to oneself. This doctrine of the justice and mercy of the Universe is indeed founded on a deep conviction of the unity, of the goodwill, the slow inevitable evolution, and what one might call the interchangeable sensitiveness, of all things human and divine.

The same idea may be found very strongly expressed in Christ's teaching, as for instance when he identifies the suffering of a sparrow with the consciousness of God, or in sayings like, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these my brethren ye did it unto me," and the repeated assertion that what you do unto others shall be done unto you, whatsoever measure you mete it shall be meted unto you, also, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy," also in the often quoted, "They who take the sword shall perish by the sword." It is very noticeable that this saying might be put as a moral at the end of many of the stories in the Dhammapada that illustrates the Buddhist doctrine of Karma by explaining how an injury done to another person is always in the end suffered by the doer of the injury, even after many years and lives. "That which I now do in my body, hereafter shall I myself receive." But perhaps the great force of Christ's doctrine of non-resistance, as expressed in the Sermon on the Mount, is due to the fact that, in his justification of it, he appealed not only to this doctrine of the unity of all nature, which has indeed been the

essential belief of mystics of all ages, but he added to that an idea which must have been strange to his hearers. After he had attacked the ideals of his time, and indeed of our time, the old instinctive defensive standard of the nations, "Love your friends and hate your enemies," and the old ideal of justice, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," he expressed his own ideals in words so familiar that I need not quote them, about not resisting evil, and turning the other cheek, and so on. And then he justified his position by a startling appeal to his conception both of the nature of God and the divine nature of human life. To those who have been taught to conceive of God as the Lord of Hosts, the Judge and Avenger of the Jews, it must have been rather shocking and startling to be appealed to to prove their identity with an unflinching, logical, impartial force of kindness and goodwill, to be asked to show themselves the children of "your father which is in heaven, for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust."

This appeal to our identity with the divine impartiality leads of course straight to what one might call the foundation idea of non-resistance, for it implies that one should treat other people according to what one is oneself, not according to what they are. And that self must be without variableness or shadow of turning. "Perfect as your father in heaven is perfect." Some of us are accustomed to feel uneasily that there is a certain amount of loss of fine qualities of determination, endurance and courage involved in non-resistance, but is it not rather a gain in strength of character to act always unswervingly according to what is in your self, independently of outside circumstances or the deeds and passions of other men. To those people who wanted to call down fire from heaven to consume those whom they honestly felt to be the

enemies of God, Christ answered, "You know not what spirit you are of." Violence, force and hatred in public or private life only become possible when we have mistaken our own nature, and have allowed ourselves to be swept away by the pressure of circumstances, from the truth that is in us, till we are out of touch with the overwhelming inevitable purpose of all things, that spirit of unfaltering goodwill that we call God, the light and love that is also the deepest principle of our own minds.

HIGHER RESISTANCE AND SPIRITUAL FORCE.

BY
CARL HEATH.

THE problem which we are considering is no new one. It is a problem which has confronted man ever since he began to reflect, and, more especially, ever since he began to reflect upon the meaning of his moral nature. Now reflection and action are, in the thinking animal, intimately related. And the older man gets, the more human he becomes, the more does he adapt himself to the process of action consequent upon reflective thought rather than to thought arising from the products of instinctive action. The child's activity, in the early stages, is purely sensational, response to the stimulus of the sense organ. In the normal course the intelligent adult receives the same stimuli but he responds only, or largely upon reflection thereon.

As with the individual so with society. Primitive society is instinctive in its activities. It hunts when it is hungry, idles when replete. It kills when it is angry, laughs at the grotesque and is devoid of the imaginative and reflective understanding of pain. In religion it turns everything to the concrete, not because it is sunk in superstition, but because all its symbology and all its idea-world are at once expressed in the outward, the sensational, and the material.

When we jump from the primitive tribe to civilised and cultured society we see the enormous change that has been already effected in the way of making life abstract, of disassociating thought at every turn from some concrete materiality. And so in religion the conception of a deity is transmuted from the simple material fetish to the region of abstract thought, and a universal intelligence replaces the primitive idol. And in social life moral ideas have become detached from immediate material good.

The point I am trying to make is, that it is this fundamental problem of transmutation that is always baffling and puzzling mankind. Yet it is the persistent effort to transmute and the success in transmutation that determine civilisation. Civilisation, if it is anything, is the domination of mind and the moral nature over material, that is of reason over the simple response to sense stimuli, of the human man over his own brute self, of mental force over material force. It is the "awakening humanity" of the poet Blake, with the corresponding submerging of the brute "spectre."

In considering this question of force and resistance let us not be in the least perturbed by those who will accuse of confusion, of mental and religious muddle. Life is a series of approximations, as Ruskin told us, and those who desire to have minds, like the bijou residences of suburbia, "*completely* furnished throughout with *every modern* convenience," need not detain us. We cannot work out life like a problem in logic. For there is no apparent logical process. But we can faithfully observe the varied and often tentative transmutations and take part in the promotion of those that appear to trend upwards.

You will observe at this stage that I am not going to base my ideas upon resistance upon the reputed commands of Christ or of other religious teachers.

Such sayings as that reported of Jesus, "Resist not evil" are either merely arbitrary opinions or they lie in some more basic facts which need to be got at.

It is some of these basic facts for which I want presently to ask your consideration. But first let us be clear as to what those who, as I think, are misnamed non-resisters, are really thinking. In a remarkable message from a remarkable Cabinet Minister published in a recent number of the *Arbitrator*, the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Minister for English Education, tells us that "when the choice is between honour and infamy pacifists must always pursue the course of honour." And he goes on to say, "It is just here that the non-resister pacifist fails." Well, it is a painful thing to be accused of infamy by a fellow pacifist, and the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson is very careful to claim to be one. Let us for a moment examine the grounds of the accusation.

Mr. Henderson's theory is, he tells us so in the same article, that the so-called non-resister pacifist "does not recognise that everything that is best in a nation or community may be destroyed if not protected or saved by force." This is a very common and popular idea, but, of course, if it were true it would knock the bottom out of the theory of pacifism very completely, and reduce peace propaganda to a mere opportunism, which indeed it very often is. The soldier is an embodiment of force applied by the State, and if what he stands for were the bottom fact of social life, if "all that is best" exists only in virtue of his strong arm and lethal weapon there is no more to be said. Armies and navies are then as obviously necessary to civilisation and life as breakfasts and dinners, and there can be no such thing as a pacifist theory or a pacifist philosophy of life. The pacifism that you and I and some others are thinking about is evidently like

the parable as defined by a child—"a heavenly story with no earthly meaning." Moreover, there would be good ground for the accusation of the *Times* that this pacifism is the *purest selfishness*.

The fact is that in this illuminating phrase! Mr. Henderson not only gives us the measure of his own *soi-disant* pacifism, not only shows that he has never had a glimmering of the Quaker view of war and of non-resistance, but illustrates in a forcible way the real line of division between those who are pacifists because their whole attitude towards life involves those transmutations I spoke about just now, and physical violence is, to them, a reversion, a set back, to the brutism from which they are sworn to free the human mind, who believe that the bottom facts of life are mental and spiritual; and those friends of, and workers for, peace who prefer a condition of peace, but who do believe that the bottom facts of life are purely physical.

I say a condition of peace, but it is somewhat doubtful whether many of them actually ever seek a condition of peace. What they seek is a condition of non-active war. Hence they are content to speak of the period in Europe between 1870 and 1914 as a period of Peace, and of the patched-up affairs by which a truce is made for a time and the diplomatists rearrange certain boundaries and extort indemnities, as "*making peace*."

This strange world of human concepts in which we live is fraught with very weird illusions. M. Paul Sabatier told us the other day that the triumph of the Central Powers in this way would mean the triumph of brute force and Mr. Henderson repeats the same thought. "Many pacifists," he says, are "supporting the Government in order to secure a satisfactory termination of the war, *because* they conceive that all that is noblest and best in life are involved—the

omnipotence of brute force against every ideal and principle that has laid the foundation of a free and democratic civilisation." The sentence is somewhat involved, but I take Mr. Henderson to mean the same as M. Sabatier. Krupp we must realise stands for brute force, as he undoubtedly does. But Creuzot, Poutiloff, Armstrong, Vickers, Maxim & Co., well, of course, we understand that they stand for that which is "noblest and best in life." Or, at any rate, they are the means by which these noble and best things are obtained and maintained.

I feel that the issue is a clear one. Do the things that constitute his real and more permanent life, come to man upwards from the material world, or downwards from his spiritual world? Are they the result of his response to the outward material phenomena, or do they spring from his larger psychic and spiritual self? By which question I do not mean to suggest that man, *mental* man, is not a product of evolution from a lower type, but that there is something beyond man from which the spiritual life derives, which is independent of him, larger than and inclusive of him. That there is a spiritual force running through the Cosmos from which the individual mind and soul of a man can obtain fresh inrushes of power and fortitude, and which, if rightly apprehended, constitutes the real motive force of the universe, real, that is, as far as we can get at ultimate reality.

It was said the other day by Mr. Lloyd George that the strength of Germany lay in its spirit, and Rev. E. A. Burroughs of Oxford rubs this in in the *Times* and demands that the Church, as the spiritual repository, I suppose, should call for a "national mobilisation of inspiration."

Mr. Burroughs points out that if the Allies are to win this war, this mobilisation of spiritual force is more important than even the mobilisation of the

armament industries. The shortage of shells is bad enough, but worse still, is the shortage of inspiration.

Such a view of the power of the spiritual life and of the necessity for a big supply of inspiration for ourselves, is an interesting admission at a time when *shells, shells, shells*, is the daily cry of salvation in all our newspapers, and even Church vestries are being turned into shell factories. It indicates at least an awakening to the fact that, after all, perhaps it is not true that physical force is the bottom fact of the State's existence; that Mr. Ellis Griffiths's theory (vide *Times*, June 28th) that "the *basis* of society is the use of force in the interests of the community" is at least doubtful.

But from my standpoint the physical force pacifists, and the militarists cannot win at all that condition of peace, which they all declare they desire, by any judicious mixture of a fair amount of spirit and a good deal of shrapnel, by higher resistance and physical violence at the same time. They may win victory, but winning peace and winning victory are not, except from a *very* short view, the same thing.

The sword may be wielded with more fury by a Puritan, a Covenantanter, or a Mons. Sabatier, because of the impetus of a spiritual enthusiasm, and victory may be more quickly achieved and active war for a time determined, but this does not mean peace in the pacifist sense.

Now, why cannot you establish peace by violence? Why cannot we believe that the victory of the Allies or the victory of the German Powers will mean peace?

Well, in the first place there is the embarrassing fact that after thousands of years of effort to obtain peace by war, and after nearly 2,000 years of mixing the spirit with the shrapnel, or its equivalent, we are now, anno domini 1915, fighting the bloodiest, most

terrific war of all, and sowing so fast such crops of hatred that it may be centuries ere we recover. That is the simple fact of the situation. It is a simple dilemma for culture, for what is there to show that as we go on we shall not get further and further from Peace?

And what is the cause of this failure? Physical resistance, violence, may overcome violence, but it not only fails entirely to overcome the will to do violence, it intensifies it. There is only one really successful method of violence, a method we cannot use to-day, and that is extermination. All other methods of violence and force on the physical plane produce this intensification of violent will, this concentration of hatred, this determination to be avenged. And so war, which is violence on a wide and organised system, can never bring peace however it obtain victories. To the pacifists—I am not talking of pacifist Cabinet Ministers—it is a futile supposition that some diplomatic rearrangements of territory, some oppressive anti-German laws, some new Holy Alliance, some annexation à la H. G. Wells of the North Sea up to high water mark on the German coast, will establish peace in Europe. These things may hold up active war for a time, but history is full of them from primæval time until yesterday. They are but the manuring of the new plots, on which the fresh war seeds are sown. And whilst, and just for so long as, the illusion lasts that war can bring peace, war will be a periodic fact, for man, in his evolution, must of necessity seek for peace, even if by illusory methods.

So let us ask of thinking men and women a little quiet consideration of the non-resister pacifist and his methods.

The non-resister, or higher resister, would oppose a spiritual force to a physical force. That, in the first place, is a different thing to sitting down and letting

wrong triumph, and is a method demanding much courage and determination and faith when put to the test.

Here I want to put to you an important aspect of the question. I am not a Tolstoyan, that is as far as I understand what appears to me to be the pure individualistic anarchism of Tolstoi's doctrine. And more, I do not overmuch care to call myself a non-resistent. The use of one method of resistance in social life as against another, is not a negative principle, not, as a writer in *Concord* appears to understand it, a casting aside of "all our ordinary methods of social progress, our committees and councils, schools and churches, parliaments and international Congresses."

For in spite of the writer's somewhat pontifical statement that the non-resister's "divorce" from these things—"is not incidental; it is essential inevitable, final," I venture to say that more and more will it become evident that it is nothing of the kind. In this matter the writer pursues the simple, very convenient and very ordinary plan of expressing the highest respect for the sublime sentiments of non-resisters and then of dismissing them to the hermitage, the convent and the other world; to use his own expressive phrase—"sans home, sans property, sans everything but the inner light." It is a short and easy way with troublesome persons, but unfortunately for the argument, the large and growing number of people who are prepared, like the Society of Friends, to accept the application of the transmutation of force to their own private and public lives have not the slightest intention of obliging its logic by surrendering, as the writer demands, the right to "a word in the post-war Congress," "democratic control of foreign policy," opposition to "peace by force" and all those other matters of social, human, international life from which he would exclude them.

To quote a little pamphlet issued by the Peace Association of Friends in America, "The Quaker opposes all war" (that is resistance by physical force, in international affairs), because he is pledged to the achievement of a society which furnishes and guarantees richer and fuller and freer opportunities of life." And so of all those who hold the Quaker view.

For their purpose is not merely to preach an abstract and inner personal life of the spirit, and an esoteric life of sainthood, but to free man and society from the touching, age-long faith in animal violence, to illustrate in social and international application the vital power of the spirit, *not* as something to be talked about in religious assemblies on Sundays and holy days, but as militant and triumphant in its redemptive activity in the common daily life of common man and common man's social organisation, in trade, in industrial work, in the State and its penal code and in its international relations. And I confess I do not know why spiritual force is treated to such eminent respect, and, at the same time, dismissed as irrelevant to the issues of human life. It is this combination of profound respect for spiritual power with a very real disbelief in its potency when, as a Wesleyan Methodist paper says, "the worst comes to the worst," that gives so many men in the modern world an enormous contempt for the Christian Churches. If it be a fact, as we are told, "that nine out of ten of our intelligent fellow countrymen" do so dismiss the value of spiritual force it seems to me *merely* a call to work. It is no argument. It proves no more than the dismissal of modern science by nine out of ten of our intelligent fellow countrymen when you and I were children together. After all, the world moves occasionally.

Everywhere and in every branch of social life men are perceiving the ultimate futility of violence. It is so in penology, it is so in commerce and industry.

Everywhere men are coming to the consciousness that physical violence, in enforcing and protecting social organisation, defeats its own purpose, and that civilisation demands of necessity its transmutation into a finer force, which has power *to redeem, to reclaim, to recall*, as well as *to resist* the lower force.

Physical force resistance has no such quality. Mr. Herbert Perris has told us that even a war of defence, which "may at the outset excite the worthiest and purest feelings, yet every day afterwards shows a progressive demoralisation." This, he ascribes to a lack in most people's minds of a "definite education in pacifist principles." I would rather ascribe it to the intrinsic reactive nature of physical violence and the inevitable result of its use, to its intensification of the will it is opposing, which it may beat down but cannot convert, and to the violently cumulative evil feelings it engenders. The force of the spirit works otherwise. Therein lies the difference between the soul that is the "humanity," and the body, that is the "spectre." The spirit works otherwise because, in so far as it *is* the spirit, it is *universal*, and has the redemptive power to harmonise.

How is the method of higher resistance, of spiritual force, to be applied. How are we to evolve methods of interstate relationship on such a basis? I believe that if in these matters we are going to bring the power of God into play (or whatever name you may call it by), we have got first to be sure that it lies upon us as a living thing—that it is a real, and not an academic faith. And then, secondly, we have to understand its application and to practise with it. That is to say the pacifist has to live the life, and the whole life, else he is only talking. That is why a conference such as this should be so exceedingly valuable, enabling us to understand, so that we may also practise. For this spiritual power has first to be experienced, and when it is

experienced it is found to be a solvent of the ill-will behind physical violence—*that* is the secret of it. It dissolves the evil will from which the violent action springs. The elements of spiritual power, sympathy, understanding, the passion for righteousness and justice and freedom, and that compassion which is the hall mark of all great souls, which together make up the religious, the ethical, and the intellectual life are omnipotent to overcome all evil, and to resist all oppression. Moreover they provide that life and power which, as George Fox said, do away with the occasion for war.

Have all the implications of the doctrine of non-resistance been thought out? Most certainly not. For the doctrine is one of life, and life is evolving, and becoming. But, difficult as it is, those who cannot pursue the old road of bloodshed must pursue this path, and pursue it *in* the antagonistic world around us. In this I agree with the Friends' Social Committee:—

“We emphasise the thought that it is better to remain in the world and its common business life, with all its compromise, and endeavour to find solutions for its problems, rather than to get out of difficulties by separating ourselves from our fellow citizens.”

At such a time as this are we prophesying in a valley of dry bones? Perhaps. For the moment there is a set back. But we are here to consider ideas that will carry us far beyond the present war, ideas which may be as the foundation stones of the life of the race to come.

TOWARDS ULTIMATE HARMONY.

BY

W. EVANS DARBY, LL.D.

My subject is "The effort towards ultimate harmony—its expression in religion."

I will endeavour to adhere to it closely. I note, too, from our programme that it is not practical propaganda, but the philosophy of pacifism, that we are occupied with ; I will keep strictly to that also.

Peace and harmony are synonymous terms. Harmony is peace ; peace is impossible without harmony. Ultimate peace, therefore, for which we struggle and pray, means ultimate and complete harmony. Work for the one and you secure the other ; gain the one and you win the other. But it is of immense advantage to see from the first that they are identical ; it focalises purpose and endeavour, it concentrates effort, it prevents waste.

What gain, moreover, lies in the early perception that no human reform can be achieved from the outside ? Reform must begin with the individuals themselves that are to be benefited ; it must continue within as a creative movement, and then it will end without and around as beneficent result. This is true of all reforms ; it is especially true of the greatest and most intimate and personal of all. " Whence come wars, and whence fightings among you ? Come they not hence, even of your pleasures that war in your members ? Ye lust, and have not ; ye kill and

covet, and cannot obtain ; ye fight and war," but the origin of it all is within the individual self, and the cure must begin there. The ultimate harmony in the great orchestra comes from the combination of the instruments that compose it, and upon the pitch and accuracy of *each*.

There is an oriental apologue depicting this human world, which describes the passage of its inhabitants over a storm-tossed sea towards the land of rest. And, after setting forth the tribulation and anguish, the danger and distress of the multitude of voyagers, it adds significantly, " But the storm, and tempest, and tumult, were not in the restless sea, but in the souls of those who were sailing over its waters." Paradoxical, therefore, as it may seem, the hush of the tempest follows the calming of the stormy souls of the passengers. It is so in the experience of life. Those who imagine that human Society can be reformed, and attain to its destined happiness, while the individual heart is untouched and the conscience unsatisfied, are victims of the delusion that machinery is everything, whereas, where life is concerned, unless it be of the right kind, it is worse than worthless. We cannot ignore facts ; it is to our loss and peril that we run counter to them, and one of the primary facts is, as stated, with authority, by the Master of Life : " Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a man be born anew "—by the awakening of his higher, his spiritual faculties—" he cannot *see* the Kingdom of God." The failure of a diplomacy essentially materialistic, and of all efforts, official and otherwise, to promote peace, and the proceedings and incidents of this war testify to that fact with million-fold emphasis. The difficulty is that so many do not *see*. As for the Churches and their leaders, they seem to have forgotten the Kingdom of God, except as an ally in the war.

The process of reviewing and recasting the outer world, and its established institutions, says Dr. Mosher, with regard to scientific and social standards, has been accompanied by a movement in the inner world of personality that is equally worthy of note, as being characteristic of the transitional character of the time in which we live. The sense of personal independence, of moral autonomy, and of subsequent worth, has led to a personality-cult, that has probably not been so widespread and far-reaching in its results since the time of the Greeks. Meanwhile, in this, as in all periods of transition, there are two predominant tendencies; the one is called "rejection," and its path is marked by unseemly ruins; the other is called "assertion," and its way is marked by the most manifold and varied structures imaginable. The impression made by either or both is that of chaos, but let us be clear as to this, that through the chaos runs the pathway to the ultimate harmony.

Already there are indications that the "wearily-wise earth" has begun beyond the hubbub of our activity, and in spite of the terrible catastrophe of the biggest war in history, to listen to the question of that still, small voice that so persistently whispers "whither" and "why." The various aspects of our modern pacifism, to go no further, are proofs of this. The questions, indeed, before the war, were coming to compete so seriously with the problems of the "world of things," on the one hand, and the "personality cult," on the other, that one may reasonably speak of a third prominent tendency of modern life—that of "religion," for religion has to do with the "soul" of the world, the "whither" and the "why" of the seeking questioner.

I will not attempt to trace here and now the progress of this third tendency before the outbreak of this revolutionary war, or its probable continuance after

its close. It is enough to say, in passing, that the facts are there, and the evidence is forthcoming. I will adhere to my theme by pointing out that religion, too, is harmony, and that the ultimate harmony is the product of religion.

Mr. H. Fielding-Hall, trying to find, as he puts it, "a definition of what truth will be when it is found," says that religion is "the music of the Infinite echoed in the hearts of men." This expression he explains in another book, "The World Soul," by saying:

"Have you ever watched people dancing? You will see how ordered their movements are, how they follow, and are ruled by the rhythm and intention of the music, how they express and manifest the sound movement. Close your ears, and the dancing loses all sense. You see people jumping and running about aimlessly, stupidly, senselessly. It strikes you as the most foolish performance. You wonder how you admired it. How can sensible people act like that? Open your ears, and the meaning is instantly recalled; every movement is co-ordinated."

This simile he elaborated in "The Inward Light." "Life is a melody the Great Musician wrings from out the hearts of men. At first but a few notes, and then more strings sounding in unison. But as the Great Composer seeks for greater music, He finds that He must have more instruments. There must be violins and harps and flutes and trumpets, drums and cymbals; there must be voices, men's and women's; sopranos, alto, tenor, bass. So only can you have full harmony. Each must sing, and his part alone, and yet in each heart must be the music of the whole."

He concludes, "This is what the truth was once and will be. That is, the relation of truth and life. Without the rhythm and the intention of the music, life is a meaningless folly, a labour to no end, an exercise in stupidity, ending in death. Open your

ears, and all life falls into the perfectly ordered rhythm of a music that has no end. It is that which keeps us all together in time and purpose. No man yet has ever heard that full music, but one, the Son of Man. But all the world has got to hear it, to live to it, from victory unto victory"—until the goal is reached.

An unknown poet versifies the same thought :

He who far off, beholds another dancing,
Even he that dances best, and all the time
Knows not the music he is dancing to,
Thinks him a madman, apprehending not
The law that guides his else eccentric motion.

So he that's in himself insensible
Of love's sweet influence, misjudges him
Who moves according to love's melody ;
And knowing not that all these sighs and tears,
Ejaculations and impatiences,
Are necessary changes of a measure
Which the Divine Musician plays, may call
The lover crazy—which he would not do,
Did he within his own heart hear the tune
Played by the Great Musician of the world.

And another has added :

And he that in the conflicts of the world,
As men strive upward by some great behest,
Knows not the impulse, or the purpose high,
That stirs his fellows, who with eager zest,
Press on impatient towards the good to be ;
Will deem them fools, and dreamers at the best—
Himself a discord, lacking just the ear
To catch the rhythm and significance
Of the great movement toward the nobler time.
Swept onward by the music of the soul,
And the sweet concord of attempered minds,
The true religion of the Kingdom come,
Or coming ever, with Goodwill and Peace,
They move responsive to a lofty strain
Of music swelling into harmonies
Of life and action, and of mutual joy,
And high attainment and of perfect peace."

This is quite sufficient, without attributing moral depravity to anyone, to account for any lack of harmony even among workers in a common cause.

The expression of ultimate harmony in historical religion has been by no means satisfactory. I will take only one instance ; we cannot deal with religion abstractly and this is not the time or place for a disquisition on comparative religion ; I will take that in which I am most interested, and from which I hope most. I can best speak of what I know best. Besides, the religion to which I refer, professes to be a religion of harmony and peace. Its key-words are LOVE—a most inadequate rendering of the original—RECONCILIATION—FELLOWSHIP.

The Kingdom of Heaven, the union of man's will with God's will in perfect harmony, is not revealed by it as a kingdom having relation to time, *i.e.*, to time as past, present and future ; it is eternal, and its life is eternal life. It is not to be thought of as distinctively the Future Life.

It is not bounded by time and space ; its sphere is here and now, everywhere and always. What then has been its expression in history ?

The best account of this, which I know, is given in an eloquent passage by James Anthony Froude, known, I dare say, to all of you :

“ When the Roman poet denounced the service of the gods as a malignant and accursed superstition, the deserved reproach of religion was on the eve of passing away. The creeds of the ancient nations were the expressions of their thoughts upon themselves, and upon the world in which they lived. Encompassed within and without by invisible forces, now beneficent and life-giving, now terrible in destructiveness, they saw in all of them, in sunshine and storm, in plenty and famine, in health and disease, the work of beings whose envy would not permit mankind to be continuously happy. They painted the immortal lords of the Universe after the image of the strongest and worst of their own race, and strove with prayers and

sacrifices to propitiate their jealous caprice. Hence came those real or legendary rites in Aulis, where the noblest of the maidens of Greece was offered as a victim to the spirit of the storm; hence those memorable lines of Lucretius which form the epitaph of dying Paganism.

"A new era was about to dawn. Christ came bringing with Him the knowledge that God was not a demon, but a Being of infinite goodness—that the service required of mankind was not a service of ceremony, but a service of obedience and love—obedience to laws of morality, and love and charity towards men. In the God whom Christ revealed, neither envy was known, nor hatred, nor the hungry malice which required to be appeased by voluntary penances or bloody offerings. The God made known in the Gospel demanded of His children only the sacrifice of their own wills, and for each act of love and self-forgetfulness bestowed on them the peace of mind which passeth all understanding."

I will not pause to point out the bearing of this, supposing the account to be accurate, upon the expression of effort towards ultimate harmony in religion. My purpose in making this somewhat long quotation is to show the failure of religion in its historical expression.

"Such a creed," continues Froude, "had it remained as it came from its Founder, would have changed the aspect of the earth. It would not have expelled evil, for evil lies in selfishness, and the conquest of self is the discipline which, if it be permitted to conjecture the purpose of the Almighty, human beings are sent into the world to learn; but it would have bound together in one common purpose all the good, all the generous, all the noble-minded, whose precepts and whose examples would have served as a guide to their weaker brethren."

That is, it would have awakened among men the beginnings of the ultimate harmony which is yet to prevail in all spheres of being.

“In that religion hate would have had no place, for love, which is hate’s opposite, was its principle ; nor could any cruel passion have found its sanction where each emotion was required to resolve itself into charity.”

“But,” he continues, “the rules of life, as delivered in the Gospel, were too simple and too difficult ; too simple because men could not thus readily shake off the dark associations which had grown around the idea of the Almighty ; too difficult, because the perfect goodness thus assigned to Him admitted no compromise, refused the ritualistic contrivances which had been the substitute for practical piety, and exacted imperatively the sacrifice which man ever finds most difficult—the sacrifice of himself.”

“Thus for the religion of Christ was exchanged the Christian religion . . . so again, God became as man and was made in man’s image, and so came back ferocity and hate, and pride, and slander, and cruelty, sanctioned by the creed which had been sent into the world to overcome them. The wells of life were poisoned, and truth itself was made the instrument of evil. . . . ‘By their fruits ye shall know them.’ Through Christ came charity and mercy. From theology came strife and hatred, and that fatal root of bitterness of which our Lord spoke Himself in the mournful prophecy that He had not come to send peace on earth but a sword. When His name and His words had been preached for fifteen centuries, there were none found who could tolerate differences of opinion on the operation of Baptism, or on the nature of His presence in the Eucharist ; none, or at least none but the hard-hearted children of the world. The more religious any man was, the more eager was

he to put away by fire and sword all those whose convictions differed from his own."

I have troubled you with this long quotation, which has not bored you, I trust, and which is only a bare outline of the remarkable passage from which it is taken, because it furnishes authority for the historical view of our religion, and claims for myself some personal detachment and freedom from any suspicion either of prejudice or predilection in presenting it to you. But, from my knowledge of history and theology, I vouch for the historical accuracy of its statements, and I offer it, moreover, both as an explanation of modern Christendom and this terrible inferno which is its latest phase, and also of its failure to carry the world forward towards any ultimate harmony.

The mistake of the Christian Church has been that, instead of being loyal to the ministry of reconciliation entrusted to her, and the task of promoting harmony among men, she has been too anxious to control.

The disciples of Christ were sent by Him to be His witnesses; instead of that, they have been too eager to govern in His name. In this way they have deposed their Lord, and usurped His authority with fatal results both to the Church itself—by that I mean organised Christianity—and to the world which it sought to save, for which it claimed to have a particular vocation, and to be entrusted with a special Evangel.

The pity of it is that the Evangel is so indispensable, for human beings cannot do without religion. "Man is incurably religious," remarks Sabatier, and it is through religion that the ultimate harmony must find its fullest and highest expression.

But it must not be the religion of creeds and ceremonies and Churches merely, but of life and fellowship; nor must its evangel be a message and an argument, it must be one of personal attachment and affection.

Both history, and individual experience bear witness to the fact that neither abstract laws nor practical logical truths move men deeply and enduringly, but only definite concrete personalities. Goethe and Carlyle were equally convinced that the history of the world is the composite history of the great men of the world. Fogazzaro, the Italian novelist, causes one of his characters to voice the conviction: "Science and religion progress only through the individual, through the Messiah."

It is, undoubtedly, for this very reason that before the tornado of the war swept over the currents of European life and thought, the spirit of unrest was gradually becoming evident, here and there, even among the German Social Democrats who found in the Marxian Gospel of Materialism and Brotherly Love their credo. One of their leaders remarked, in discussing the necessity of making reference to the matter of religion in their agitation, that there were many among the working people who had outgrown the materialistic philosophy of life of Karl Marx, and were beginning to struggle for a new one. "Does it not seem," it was asked, "that the unschooled Social Democrats are coming to see that they could not find lasting inspiration in an abstraction?" This question leads to the more general one: Will the thinkers and philosophers who now seek to reconstruct life, succeed in evolving a Society of the future without the medium of a personality, who has or will have, convincingly demonstrated in his own life wherein the value and purpose of life consists? Will they yet see that the restlessly active modern man, in spite of all enlightenment and progress, and of all practical philosophy, does need such aid to begin with, both for himself and his world?

What has followed since the outbreak of the war is really beside the mark. It is war; and war

is chaos. Concerning that, however, there was a remarkable article which appeared recently in *Der Tag*—of all papers—protesting against the Gospel of Hate. It was written by a Dr. G. Kühn, thought to be a missionary, who, after quoting the deplorable anti-German excesses of the mob in various European capitals, as betraying a more intense hatred of the Germans than they had shown towards their enemies, went on to say :—

“It would be an unparalleled step backwards if we should now put aside the New Testament, with its injunction of love towards our neighbour, and substitute for it the Old Testament, with its psalms of revenge. Hate depraves and poisons the heart. Hate can never for long make a nation capable of great deeds of self-denial and self-sacrifice, such as this war demands. As a matter of fact,” he added, “our troops in the field are far from such a hate.” The connection strikes us as curious, but the sentiment is correct and the doctrine sound.

Reverting to the line of thought, from which we have for a moment diverged, the elements of harmony are in every human being and its ultimate realisation is the purpose of life. Two things, however, are necessary to promote and facilitate its expression in the corporate life of men; that is, its expression in the religious life of the community, which, as I have already intimated, is the highest form of the movement towards universal peace: viz., the concrete personality around which the movement must crystallise, and the possibilities of association to which it must attain.

Once in the course of history there was a revelation, for the first time, of the possibilities of human association—an association, at once divine and human—the new Society gathering around, and being inspired by a personality of whom Tennyson said :

Thou seemest human and divine,
The highest, holiest manhood Thou ;
Our wills are ours, we know not how,
Our wills are ours to make them Thine.

We shall soon discover, I think, that it takes the "highest, holiest manhood" to enter into, to win and hold for humanity the kingdom of harmony and peace. For religion is love, and the perfect man is he who is perfect in love. Religion is love, and love works by turning and holding the energetic will and uncorrupt desire of the soul in the direction of the Best. For, in the last resort, the Maker of our universe, and the Controller of our destiny, either as individuals or in our corporate relationship, is nothing else but a synthesis of such energetic will and such uncorrupt desire turned and held in that direction.

In this direction, too, lies the highway to the attainment of our purpose as Pacifists. He who can bring his own soul into a conscious oneness with the "Over-soul" will receive a divine equipment which he may wield with ever increasing efficiency. This may be defined otherwise as intelligent identification with the subjective Christ—Tennyson's "Strong Son of God, Immortal Love." Only this will ensure well-rounded and harmonious growth and effort.

In a deep sense we create the path upon which we are to walk, the sphere in which we are to work. The leverage provided by the higher law of every life reaches downward and outward. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of harmonious spiritual consciousness," for that is true religion—and, says Henry Wood, "the lower planes and landscapes dressed in living green will lie stretched out before you, each in its appropriate order and rank." But by the law of attainment realisation must be gradual.

The final interpretation of the higher law will be found in the universal attraction we call Love, which,

as it is developed, will represent an ever increasing lawfulness.

Love in its subordinate forms is educational, in its highest, it is absolute and compelling. Personal, paternal, filial, and even conjugal loves, are the training schools of the broader, comprehensive law of attraction, which—though not quite the same thing to different individual consciousness—will finally be merged into the still higher law, the grand ideal of which is charmingly expressed by Tennyson, as

One God, one law, one element,
And one far off Divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.

I accept that as certain. But the operation of that law is life—more and yet more life, and, inspired by that personal and dominant affection, and finding its outlet in what Professor Seeley called “The enthusiasm of humanity,” “Pacifism will be militant and active, and not passive.”

ART AND PEACE.

BY

JOSEPH E. SOUTHALL.

THAT the arts of Peace should be an antidote to the arts of War may seem a self-evident proposition ; but it is curious that the exposition of it should be given into the hands of a member of a religious body, which was formerly hostile to the fine arts almost as much as to war itself. Nor was that hostility without some justification, for the arts have been used very freely, and are now being used, to stir up martial fervour, and to excite anger. And this is by no means the only evil purpose to which they have been put. One cannot altogether wonder then at Quaker or Puritan condemnation ; and when I read of a notable woman in the Society of Friends a century ago exclaiming “ O those pictures on Friends’ walls ! ” I confess to you that I have known what it is to feel a lively sympathy with this cry of pain. But art is not merely painting pictures or playing the piano. Art is one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, means of expressing human emotion and thought. And it would be as unreasonable to condemn the fine arts because they have often been the vehicle used to express base ideas, as it would be to refuse to teach young children to speak because so many adults tell lies.

Yet there is a time for silence as well as a time for speech ; and I accept wholly the Quaker tenet that

Divine worship should be an inward act, and that it does not require and is likely to be hindered by, the ministrations from without of architecture, painting and music.

The manifestations of art that I have in mind at present are many and various, and they are the natural accompaniment of a wholesome and truly free civilisation.

Our modern industrial system has been directed towards an apparent but illusory cheapness of production, with the result that the workers have become slaves of the machine. In modern times it has consequently become impossible for the workman to express himself in his work. His toil has become unspeakably monotonous and the work produced has naturally borne the impress of his despair.

Why is it do you think, that cultivated people have taken to buying all kinds of antiques in furniture and household goods?

Partly fashion, partly the desire to possess what is unique, but underlying all that, the consciousness that these things possess a quality not to be found in modern manufacture.

That quality is art. It is the difference between live work and dead. It is the sense of the touch of a human hand, instead of the grinding of steam-driven wheels. And there is that in the sensitive human soul that craves for it, and will always crave.

Why should work be such a dreary burden when the world is so full of delightful materials in which to work?

There might be infinite joy as well as use in things of stone and wood and plaster, of glass and leather, of gold and silver, brass and copper, and iron, in silk and wool, and cotton and paper, if only they were rightly handled and understood.

The supreme task for the social reformer is to give back to the workman joy in his work. There is no real reason why it should not be done, if only we would abandon our desire to rule and exploit one another.

And here we are brought at once to see that our commercial and industrial system has been animated largely by the same spirit as that of the military system.

It has moreover very greatly facilitated the work of the war mongers. For a population that lives in perpetual drudgery, whose toil is dull and monotonous, whose homes are ugly, whose streets are sordid, is a populace carefully prepared for the depredations of the sensational press.

A people that has never known what a beautiful city meant, that has never been shown how to make life glorious, is the natural prey of those who purvey the tawdry tinsel of Imperialism. Those who have never been taught to see the joy of construction are ready to enter into the orgies of destruction. What does Venice or Verona or Bruges mean to the British factory hand! Nothing. If he is asked to give his voice for their destruction he has no conception that the world's loss will be immeasurable and beyond repair.

Nor is it only the poor and the ignorant of whom this is true. The contempt for beauty and indifference to art pervade all classes in this country.

Our leading politicians have received no little education, yet we hear them glibly talking of indemnities and of re-building Belgium.

You can never re-build Belgium.

If you can bring back to life the dead hands that made Ypres and Arras, Bruges and Antwerp, if you can summon up from the tomb Roger van der Weyden, Memling and the Van Eycks—and with them all

their generation—then and then only can you replace the glories of Belgium.

Now the Belgians know this, but our countrymen do not seem to understand, so utterly have they lost the feeling for beauty. Thus we strain every nerve to *drive* the Germans out of Belgium, not knowing that in so doing we annihilate Belgium itself.

We English are great travellers. Every year we have gone by thousands to Italy, but what have we learnt?

We have seen how beautiful the Italian cities could be, and it is but too probable that we have looked on the beauty of some of them for the last time, but have we even attempted to make our own cities places that we ourselves could live in?

Have we not rather been content to travel night and morning in trains and tubes and busses (those distributing agencies for influenza), because we had made the places of our work intolerable as places of abode?

Yet the poor must live in such places, and when we wax indignant with those who "set class against class" we should do well to remember these things.

In our system of education the study of beauty is an extra: an extra that is seldom afforded. Had it been otherwise we could not have tolerated the great hideous squalid cities that have sprung up in the last hundred years, and have drained away the strength of our manhood and womanhood from the beautiful country side. We should have felt instinctively that this was wrong; that it was out of the Divine harmony; and that some great and terrible disaster must sooner or later result from it.

A rightly cultivated sense of beauty would have made us feel that the foul ugliness of our towns was intolerably painful, and that sense of pain would

have served the same purpose as the sense of physical pain serves in our bodies.

It would have been a faithful sentinel.

Are we yet willing to learn this truth?

And first are we willing to be so humbled that we can learn anything?

The present spirit of our pastors and masters (especially of our pastors) is not encouraging.

We seem to be always exclaiming "Lord we thank thee that we are not as other men are," quickly adding however "But we very soon will be."

While this spirit prevails the war will never stop. Military operations may cease from sheer loss of blood, but there will be no peace.

Instead we shall have a frightful truce with an ever darkening gloom, while with bloodshot eyes we watch one another through the periscope of fear. For this reason I have felt it to be my main duty to use any little power I might have towards the immediate quenching of those fires of passion and revenge that bid fair to destroy all that makes life worth living.

But assuming that this may be done—what next! Clearly the world can never again be as it was twelve months ago.

We could not, if we would, live as though this horror had not been.

Should not our prayer be, "Lord that we might receive our sight."

We who are here to-day must desire, above all, that nations should learn to see and to know one another—to see that they are not enemies but brethren, and that all this madness of destruction was caused by blindness, and the fear that blindness makes possible.

If you agree with me thus far you will I think be ready to admit that in the future art must again

become one of our chief concerns. For it is the special function of the artist to see, and to help others to see.

Those who have truly seen God's handiwork cannot lightly destroy Man made in His image. And art has this immeasurable advantage, that it is an international language. Better and more readily than Esperanto it oversteps all boundaries of speech, and freely imparts its message to all continents and peoples. To learn this language is to learn what the human family is, to know how like we are to each other in our joys and sorrows, our needs and hopes and fears.

I do not know a single character of Chinese, but the painters of far-off China speak to me freely, and I know that they are not heathen.

But clearly our art of the future must in the fullest sense be democratic—it must not be the toy of the rich, it must be the language and the joy of all. We must not glory in our great private collections, jealously locked up, but in great public works; seeking to rival and excel other nations not in the means of destruction but in constructive achievements.

We ought to occupy our minds no longer with vast schemes for keeping other peoples out of our country, but with such things as shall make them want to come to us, as friends and neighbours should.

All this is possible, and if we had the courage and the faith to try it, it would not be difficult. There is abundance of ability only waiting right direction and encouragement, and with such direction we might build cities and villages full of beauty instead of squalor: cities of fountains and gardens and public palaces where great simplicity of private life might go hand-in-hand with public splendour.

Every wise economist knows that where men work with hope and joy they work twice as hard and

well, and in such a world as I have feebly sketched, human productiveness would amazingly increase. If in mediæval Europe, in spite of frequent wars (not because of them if you please) such glorious towns and cities could be built, is it not clear that we in our time could at least do something similar?

Great schools of art take generations to perfect, but the main thing is the right spirit in beginning, and sometimes archaic work attains a level that is not easily surpassed.

In order to reach this right spirit, let me say again, the first thing is humility, and the first work must be to remove the beam that is in our own eye.

Then may we see to it, that art shall no longer be a sauce to tempt the worn-out appetite of the epicurean, but a wholesome ingredient in the daily fare of the people.

WAR AND PEACE IN HUMAN HISTORY: A BACKWARD AND A FORWARD GLANCE.

BY

EDWARD CARPENTER.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,—As this Conference is expected to be of a rather specially philosophic character it may not be out of place to begin my address by quoting Hegel, and his doctrine of the Coincidence of Opposites, and by pointing out that it is no good praising Peace and dwelling on its advantages unless we are prepared also to recognise the benefits and advantages of war. The one consideration involves in some degree the other. And I think we shall all agree that a mere blind Pacifism or “peace at any price” theory is not the kind of thing we want.

We can hardly doubt that in the history of human evolution, war has had an important and perhaps necessary part to play. It has been the nurse of some human virtues. And this is a view which has been put forward by many writers and philosophers—not only by such Germans as Treitschke and Nietzsche, but by others nearer to us in their mental attitude and relationship. Walter Bagehot, for instance, in his well-known book, “Physics and Politics” (written in 1872) has a chapter or two on “The Uses of Conflict,” and through that epoch-making book of Prince

Kropotkin's, "Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution," there runs like a deep ground-bass the idea that both in the human and sub-human worlds, warfare and competition have called forth the instinct of mutual assistance and solidarity as a great protective force—called the instinct forth and wakened it into action, though not indeed *created* it.

Looking far back into the past we may almost say that human society has been built upon warfare. Man has been defined as a "tool-using animal," and some of the earliest tools—stone-axes, bows and arrows, and so forth, were made for purposes of war. The necessities and the dangers of conflict called forth the extremes of human ingenuity and the exercise of skill and exactness. And not only the human brain was developed through this process, but the heart also; the moral qualities, strange to say, grew—many of them—from the same root. Scattered groups, for the sake of self-defence, united themselves into tribes. The virtues of solidarity and loyalty gradually became established. Devotion to one's tribe or clan, heroism in its defence or in the assertion of its rights, were praised beyond measure, and the images of these things, as of the highest excellences, were stamped on the tribal conscience. The earliest poetry and literature were inspired by the same. Fully half, I should think, of the poetry of early peoples, the Iliads, the Mahabharatas, the legends of Heroes, and so forth, grew out of the wars and conflicts in which these peoples were engaged. And if we now look for our inspiration in nobler themes, still we cannot refuse to recognise that the themes of war in the past have had their part to play.

Tribal solidarity and loyalty in their turn expanded until they developed into the sense of Nationality and the enthusiasm of Patriotism. And we are compelled to call Patriotism a virtue because in its time it has

certainly produced some of the finest flowers of human activity—though we must not blind ourselves to the fact that patriotism in its meaner forms as we sometimes see it to-day has outworn the period of its usefulness and has become almost a vice.

Throughout all this there emerges the general idea—Hegelian in its character—that war and enmity are the wet-nurses of love and friendship. Our enemies give us our best friends. In private life we find this is so. Nothing binds us to one another more than the sense that we have a common foe ; and even the numerous humane and peace associations of the present day are largely kept alive and active by their quarrels with each other !

There is another way in which war seems to have had a beneficial influence in the past. The tremendous issues of war—its dangers, its pains, its tortures, the fear of death, of slavery, and of multiform loss and destruction—have had the effect of *ploughing up* human nature, waking mankind from their age-long and animal-like slumbers, and testing, clarifying, cleaning and sharpening their ideas and their faculties. In the ground so ploughed up the seeds of new thoughts have been sown. It is a common-place of history to say that by the collision of nations new ideas have been spread over the world ; and at the present moment we can see this process going on all around us over the face of Europe—testings of national habits and prejudices, comparisons of one with another, rejections of old, adoptions of new, and so forth.

That simultaneously with the good, war has also baneful influences—that it tends to breed hatred, lust of domination, cruelty, self-pride and prejudice—we must of course admit. I am only just now concerned with showing that in the course of the past war *has* had a certain part to fulfil in the matter of human evolution, a part which has been possibly quite necessary.

Why this should be so, and why all these things could not have been learnt more sanely and at less cost by some other process—is another question. All one can say is that history and the human race seem to have come along this route. If any of you have a bone to pick with Providence for bringing mankind over such a stony pass, I must leave you and Providence to fight it out. I do not feel that I can interfere in the matter. The historical fact seems to be so.

But now, observe, history, culminating, is gradually bringing us to another issue. We are approaching perhaps a critical point in human evolution, and the old order—instead of lasting for ever—is yielding place to new. To the modern peoples war has become an anomaly, a monstrosity, and there is arising a huge flood of feeling and sentiment against it. Simultaneously with the growth of a greater sensitiveness in the human heart and a wider capacity of human sympathy, it has happened that science and inventive ingenuity have made the engines of warfare infinitely more horrible and diabolical than ever before. This machine slaughter, carried out on the scale of the present war, has become a detestable outrage on the public feeling of every civilised country, there is a widespread revolt against the very idea of it, and a determination to have done with it in the future.

Furthermore, with increasing intelligence and brain-power the peoples are beginning to recognise what mere foolery this kind of fighting is. It may have been all very well for the Jews to believe that they were the “chosen people,” and that Jehovah always fought on their behalf, while he left Beelzebub and the powers of darkness to side with the Philistines; and even to-day some “patriots” of a rather weedy order—either German or English—may take a similar view (we know for instance that the Kaiser considers himself and his people to be the chosen of God, and that some

Britishers believe that Britain can do no wrong)—but it is impossible in general for the modern man who knows something of the international life of the world and the essential unity of the European peoples to maintain this kind of nonsense, or to think that the God of Christianity (who is called upon by all the belligerents alike) is really siding with them all—like a chess-player who merely plays his right hand against his left. We are becoming too intelligent to deceive ourselves any longer in this style.

We are not content any longer to say that war is good because it breeds heroism or encourages solidarity. We want to know whether the *Cause* is good for which the heroism is displayed, or what *kind* of solidarity it is which results. Bagehot, in the book already mentioned, makes the pregnant remark that military capacity in a nation, by favouring a rigid and despotic form of government, is liable to produce a tame and sheepish people. If some of us may think this remark particularly applicable to Germany to-day, it must also put us on our guard lest by chance it should become applicable to England to-morrow. We want solidarity truly, but we do not want a tame and sheepish solidarity.

As Pacifists we look forward, I take it, to an ideal of Peace; but we do not want a tame and sheepish Peace.

You now perhaps see why I have begun this address by speaking about war.

If we are to have Peace in the future, I think we shall agree that it must be such a Peace as will *at least* breed the virtues mentioned above as partly due to War—such virtues as solidarity, loyalty to each other, devotion, courage, comradeship and the inspiration of a common cause. A fat, foolish and sentimental Peace, replete (like a modern hotel) with

every luxury, and with "universal benevolence" all around, is horrible to think of. Personally I would ten times rather die in the trenches than be caught in the toils of such a thing. We want a fine, splendid, and heroic Peace—a peace (if I may be allowed to say so) which we can fight for!—a peace which we can live and die for.

Where then are we to find such a peace? What is to be its inspiration?

I do not think we must look for its inspiration in mere morality of the "dogs delight to bark and bite" order. "Little children should not let their angry passions rise," says Dr. Watts. But their passions do rise, and abstract moralities are then of little avail. Copy-book maxims do not count against Maxim guns.

Nor do I think that the spread of mere sympathy is sufficient. Sympathy is good in its way—especially when it takes a really practical form; but we know how easily it evaporates in words, and none of us quite know how far the sympathetic sentiments we indulge in towards our friends will stand, until we come to the real test of life and death.

Nor even religion. For though religion is so often quoted as the "bringer of peace on earth and goodwill towards men," it is, alas! only too true that religion has, as a matter of fact, been one of the chief instigators of wars since the world began. On all sides to-day the bishops and clergy of the various nations are hounding on their respective peoples and impressing upon them the duty, not of loving their enemies, but of slandering and slaying them. And if religion is to be the inspiration of a future peace, it must certainly be a far profounder and truer religion than we yet have seen.

No, it seems to me that what we are looking for is something even more intimate than all these things—a deep Instinct, perhaps, and Necessity of human

nature, life-commanding and constructive—a peace, as I have said, that you can die for.

Nietzsche, in various passages of his works, speaks of the Will to Power as the root principle of human life. I think he was mistaken. He did not go deep enough. He should have said the Will to *Expression*. The deepest of all things in us is the desire to express ourselves, to liberate and give utterance to our real nature, to grow, so to speak, from our own roots. Of that Will to Expression, the Will to Power is of course one element. Power is needed for expression, but it is only one element.

The inspiration of the future Peace must be the constructive growth of Society—the expression of the real heart of man in the order and institutions of his social life. The nature and heart of the bees is expressed in the life of the hive. This latter represents the constructive growth of bee-society, and for it each individual bee will readily die. The same with ants, and a thousand other communities of animals. The Will to Expression in mankind has been the real root of countless wars in the past. Each nation, each tribe, each people, has desired to give utterance and a form to its own life; it has wanted room and opportunity for growth—“a place in the sun.” Such has been Germany’s desire; and of course so far that desire is only perfectly natural and legitimate. It has only been what Britain has pursued and gained in the past. But in seeking expression for itself, each nation, each tribe, each people, has come into collision with some other. It has endeavoured to find a place in the sun by ousting another one *out* of the sun. And the resulting wars have been primarily destructive. Blood and treasure have been poured out and in the consequent exhaustion the *constructive* work has too often been forgotten. A space has been cleared for building, but the edifice has not arisen.

In this way the constructive instinct in man has through ages of human blindness and folly led mainly to *destruction*. Yet there is a limit also to this process. The Will to Expression which has hitherto produced wars will one day inevitably go further still, and lead to the quietus and cessation of war.

It is all a question of depth—of the profundity of the root from which the constructive instinct springs. Hitherto each personality, each tribe, each nation, has been chiefly concerned to express its *surface* needs, to build on the basis of its *differences* from the others, to boast itself over others, to despoil them if possible, to flaunt its flag, its nationality, as superior to the others. The game has been childish enough, in all conscience, and has led to eternal jealousies and bickerings, as of boys at school ; but so it has been. The time, however, is at hand when the creative life in each people, rooting deeper, will pass below nationality and find its purpose in a great constructive Humanity. It will gain that deep level in human nature where the little differences due to language, custom, locality, and so forth, fade away before the consciousness of the immense common life beneath ; the perception of the great foundation qualities of man and woman, wherever they may be, of whatever race, of whatever colour, of whatever tradition ; and the acknowledgment of the right of each unit to its honoured place in the whole, no less than we acknowledge the right of every little cell to its place in the healthy human body. When that time comes (and we already see its signs and indications), the constructive instinct in man will have passed below the region of wars, and will be chiefly occupied in building up in its limitless variety the great *human* life of mankind out of the certain knowledge and conviction that there is after all one heart and one spirit beneath all the differences. When that time comes it will be seen that the expression of one

nation will no longer mean the destruction of others—rather the contrary, since whether in individuals or in nations, whether in commerce or in art or in science, it is clear that the best expression of self is in co-operation with others, and not in conflict with them, and is gained by interpenetrating and suffusing others rather than by destroying them.

Here, then, roughly outlined, is the purpose and the inspiration of the coming Peace. And when we envisage the tremendous work which will have to be done in order to realise this, when we think of the toiling millions all over the earth, with their darkened bodies and darkened souls; when we reflect on all that Socialism in its widest sense, and International Socialism means—the *freeing* of labour from the tyranny of masters and employers, the transforming of it so as to become a pleasure and a joy in life, the linking up of the workers all over the world, the formation of constructive associations, local and international, for the expression of positive human activities and aspirations, and the creation of health and beauty and happiness—and these things in the face of a huge congested mass of ignorance and prejudice, and in despite of the threats of Nature and the persecutions of the powerful—we see that here indeed is the inspiration of a Peace which will not only call up our enthusiasm but will also make demands on us of heroism and devotion, of courage and skill and resourcefulness, fully equal to the demands which have been made by wars in the past. Science and ingenuity, solidarity and loyalty, fraternity and tenderness, the surmounting of dangers, labours and death, will indeed all be needed in this last titanic effort of the human race—the storming of heaven; nevertheless, the weapons of the conflict will not be those of destruction but of construction, the passion inspiring it will not be that of hatred but of love.

To indicate, even in the briefest way the practical constructive lines of the future Peace—the immense possibilities of productive co-operation among the manual workers, the transformation of the workshops into free centres of industrial vigour, the dedication of the land and the great transport systems to the highest public use and fertility, the liberation of the minds and bodies of the mass-peoples from the huge accretions of prejudice and ill-growth inherited from the past (the funny old cocoons in which the human spirit has lain so long concealed), the conquest of self-government and the final dismissal of the foolish old institutions of the law and the law courts, the emergence into health and freedom and beauty of life—to indicate even all this would take far more time than I have at command.

All that I can say now is that, short of our setting before ourselves some great human purpose of this kind there is no alternative but to go back to war as before. The horrors that we see around us to-day spring in their root from the fact that warfare is the internecine condition of our own lives. Since parasitism and the deliberate preying of one person upon the labours of another is a root-condition of our social life nothing can be more natural than that this should occasionally manifest itself in external warfare and the attempt of one nation to prey upon another. And the disgust which we feel at the strife we are witnessing in the great world to-day ought to open our eyes to the iniquity of our own internal polity. If we want to get rid of war the cure must go deep—even to the banishment of mutual robbery and slaughter out of our own midst. You remember that when Naaman, captain of the Syrian host, and stricken with leprosy, came to Elisha for cure, the prophet said to him, "Go and bathe seven times in Jordan." But Naaman was indignant at being told to "wash and be clean." He expected some

Abracadabra, some fiery sacrifice and ritual, some miracle from heaven. So the nations of Europe stand round to-day and look for Hague conferences, federations and ententes and alliances to save them from their own folly ; but the simple and efficient command is—though indeed most difficult to follow—“ Wash *yourselves* and be clean.”

DARWINISM AND DEVELOPMENT THROUGH MUTUAL AID.

BY

HERBERT BURROWS.

It is probable that of all the subjects which will be considered during our two days' Conference, that with which I am about to deal will be thought to be the least debatable and perhaps the least needed, inasmuch that on it there will be the most agreement. Indeed at first sight it might well seem that there is no need for such a paper at all. Surely no man or woman, even the most warlike, would have the hardihood to assert that in evolutionary progress mutual aid is unnecessary, whether in the development of individuals, of nations or of communities. Rather would it be thought and said that such mutual aid is an essential factor in world evolution, and that without it no real progress is possible. Why then trouble to speak on such a question at all ; or take up time by considering a subject on which there will be no disagreement ?

But this question is by no means so easy as it superficially appears. When we attempt to get behind its outward easiness we shall certainly find that on no subject is there likely to be such sharp division of opinion, if not among ourselves, yet among the generality of people at large. The mere bald statement that mutual aid helps on development does not carry us very far as an abstract proposition to

which we may give a careless assent, and which it is not worth while taking the trouble to consider because at first sight it appears to be so obvious. It is in the application of this proposition, especially to the present crisis, that the difference of opinion is likely to arise when we begin to consider it in relation to the system of science which is known under the generic name of Darwinism, a system which now holds the field in evolutionary thought.

Years ago Professor Huxley declared Charles Darwin to be the greatest scientist since the days of Aristotle, and although that was not true so far as regards the world generally, it was probably true so far as regards the development of thought in the West. To no other man was it given so to change and mould not merely one department of thought in his own day, but science, theology and morals for future European generations. The elder of us who can remember the storm of reprobation and denunciation, especially by bishops and curates, which the evolutionary theories evoked, who can remember the shudder of repulsion which ran through society when the names of the four so-called atheists were mentioned, —Huxley, Tyndall, Spencer and Darwin—can also remember how the latter was laid to rest in the stately Abbey of the Anglican Church, whose bitter enemy he was once supposed to be, amid the benedictions of those same bishops and those same curates. So wags the world. And since then, strange to say, Darwin is appealed to by society and the Church, by exploiters and by commercialism, by militarists and by politicians, in support of the gospel of evolutionary force as opposed to the higher gospel of mutual aid. This is of course no new phenomenon in human history. The true Christians here would be the first to acknowledge that Christ would no more recognise much of what is known as Christianity to-day, than Darwin would recognise

many of the later day implications of evolution. The master is always spoiled by his disciples.

The fact we have to bear in mind is that since Darwin's day his younger disciples have given to his theories an interpretation which I believe he would have been the first to disown. They have erected an edifice of supposed evolutionary science into which I believe he would have refused to enter, an edifice in which are housed seeming justifications for many of the present-day evils which are rampant in social, in industrial, and, above all, in military thought and life.

This edifice is based and founded on those well-worn phrases—The Struggle for Existence, and The Survival of the Fittest—phrases which have been given a meaning which to me is foreign to all true evolution, to all the real progress of mankind, and utterly opposed to that gospel of mutual aid by which alone humanity can proceed along the path of true physical, mental, moral and spiritual development.

We all know how everywhere, in every department of thought, in individual, national and international life, this perversion of true evolution obtains. Summed up it means, the weakest must go to the wall, and as an extreme evolutionist put it some time ago, be thankful that they have any wall to go to. In this fratricidal war which is now devastating humanity we have Neo-Darwinism exalted to its highest pinnacle. From Bernhardt, Treitschke and the Kaiser to many of our pulpits, to the fury of part of our own press, culminating to-day in "Britons to the slaughter," we have the negation of humanity in the name of force, of science, of evolution, and of Christ.

The foundation of all this is an unphilosophical materialism translated into the realm of morals, a realm which is thus as much devastated in thought as Belgium is materially devastated by the vile German

atrocities committed in that unhappy country, and the survival of the fittest as interpreted by the later Darwinians is the foundation of it all. I need hardly remind you that the root of the evil is the interpretation of the word fittest as the strongest, whereas the Mutual Aidists, if I may coin a phrase, interpret fittest by the best, and in the antithesis between strongest and best lies the root of the whole question. The whole meaning of evolution is that something must survive in the march of progress. The true Darwinian holds that that something will be not the strongest materially, but the strongest mentally and morally, and that by an inevitable law that latter strongest will eventually prove to be the best, the best all round humanity, formed, nurtured and developed by that mutual, co-operative, communal aid which is rooted and built not on antagonism but on brotherhood, not on suspicion but on confidence, not on exploitation but on co-operation, not on hatred but on love.

To-night I am only troubling you with one quotation and I have chosen the one I am about to read to you because it puts, although somewhat rhetorically, yet quite clearly without the slightest attempt at disguise, the attitude of the younger Darwinians of whom I have spoken and their interpretation—false as I believe it to be—of the general doctrine of evolution. The quotation is from *The Student's Darwin*, by the late Dr. Edward Aveling, in his day one of the ablest exponents of Neo-Darwinism. He says :

“Natural Selection.—Given this variation under nature, the question arises—how is it connected with the formation of species? What is the relation between this universal variation and the evolution of the many from the one? To understand this it is needful to consider the struggle for life that is unceasingly visible.

“The struggle for life. The world is one great battlefield. Over all its surface, within the depths of its waters, in the very

air that belts it round is eternal strife. All living beings, from loftiest to lowest, are fighting unceasingly. The life of our huge cities, with its struggle of class against class, and of individual against individual, with, on the part of him that would triumph, an unremitting toil and an intense devotion to himself and his that are needful as they are awful in their desperation, with its doing unto death of the many that is the inevitable accompaniment of the success of the one—that life, I say, that is so full of the terrible that the very stars shiver as they look down upon it, and hear the sound of the city's inarticulate moaning pass by them into the infinite, like a wandering ghost—that life is the type of all life. In the darkness of the soil of the earth the roots of the plants are struggling with each other for food. In the microscopic drop of water the Infusoria sweep ceaselessly round and round, striving for the food that is not sufficient for them all. Never ending contest. Interminable strife. Every living being is an Ishmael. Its hand is against all others. The hands of all others are against it. And as among men, so also among the more lowly organised creatures, the bitterest struggle is ever between those who are akin to one another. Wherefore is the contest? For wealth, or glory, or a lasting name? Nay, for bare life. The struggle everlasting is for the very means of existence. It is as the struggle of a famine-stricken multitude for the bread that is not sufficient for their wants. *Væ Victis*, woe to the conquered, is the cry of the world. If plant or animal succeed not, away with it! Let it perish, trodden to death beneath the feet of its stronger brethren hurrying onwards for food. . . .”

“Who, then, are to be the survivors in this battle? Who are doomed to be numbered among the slain? Those best fitted for the struggle will survive. Those least adapted to the circumstances of the unending fight are doomed. The fittest will hold out the longest. That which possesses in strength or in any other way an advantage over its fellows will conquer them in the struggle for existence. . . .”

“This is the great principle of Natural Selection, or the Survival of the Fittest.”

Now that is brutal in its frankness, but it is this brutality which is described and applauded in much of the world press and in many of the pulpits of to-day, and which has set Germans, British, French, Belgians, Austrians, Russians, Serbians, Italians, Canadians, Indians, Australians, New Zealanders and Turks at each other's throats, to tighten their grip till there comes the survival of the fittest, that is, to the Neo-Darwinian, till the strongest can squeeze the life out of the rest, by bayonet and sword, by rifle and

cannon, by Zeppelin and by aeroplane, by Dreadnought and by submarine, by bomb and poisonous gas, by slaughter and by death. And the Neo-Darwinian will logically rub his hands and cry, "In the name of Evolution the weakest must go to the wall."

But the Destinies think not so, to their judgment chamber lone,
Comes no noise of popular clamour, there fame's trumpet is not
blown,

Your majorities they reckon not, that you grant, but then you say,
That you differ with them somewhat; which is stronger, you
or they?

As a believer in Mutual Aid as the true evolutioniser of humanity I for one am on the side of the Destinies.

But in order to be quite fair, let me face boldly and squarely the chief arguments of the Neo-Darwinians as regards this war in Nature. "There," they say, "is the fact of this natural war. Can you dismiss it or explain it away? Man is part of natural evolution—subject to the same laws of life as plants, birds and animals. Therefore he must necessarily be included in the struggle for existence—the law of the survival of the fittest. He *must* struggle for his daily life, and in that struggle trample down his fellows. Therefore in our interpretation Darwinian evolution is thus carried only to its natural, logical, inevitable conclusion through strife and warfare."

Now at first sight this seems an unanswerable argument. Let us examine it a little more closely.

The Mutual Aidist admits the struggle in nature. He sees traces of it on every hand. But, an exceedingly important but, he denies that this same law is always and without check at work everywhere in nature, and above all he most emphatically denies that it *must* necessarily be at work in humanity itself. On the contrary, on every hand he sees proofs that it is not, and in support of his contention he appeals to the law of evolution itself. The whole idea of evolution is

entirely destroyed if we attempt to set a barrier to progress in any part of the universe. True evolution is continued, infinite progression, and progress in every department of life and thought—physical, mental, moral. Will the ultra-Darwinian dare then to contend that nature, which to him includes man, has arrived at such a state of unceasing, unending war, that in man there can be no further progression, no further evolution of morals, no further advance from war to peace? To say that would oblige him to give up all his evolutionary ideas and to fall back on everything against which Darwin himself contended. Of this we may be certain that the surest way to defeat a disciple who has gone wrong is to go back to the master. That obtains in Christianity and in Darwinism. But if Darwin himself was right, which he was, and there is to be a continued progressive evolution, then that must necessarily apply, with all its consequences, to the mental and moral nature of man.

And now we have arrived at the heart and core of the question so far as regards Mutual Aid when applied to humanity at large.

Mutual Aid pre-supposes a high reasoning faculty, in a word, the continuous development of mind, and that is what is meant by the evolution of man. I do not attempt to argue the question as to whether the mind of man differs in kind, or in degree, from, say, that of animals—that is out of my province to-night. I have my own ideas on it with which I do not trouble you. I will only say that the differentiation is so generally marked as to enable us to build up a strong and safe argument that the mind of man does expand, develop and progress. Therefore it will not always stop at war, and here I am a true evolutionist in opposition to the survival of the fittest men, to whom the fittest means strongest. In nine cases out of ten

the strongest are not the fittest human beings. Take this war, for instance. If the editor of the *Daily Mail* is a Neo-Darwinian, as he may be (I have never discussed the question with him, although he is an old personal friend of mine, but I will take it for granted), would he apply his ultra-Darwinian ideas to the present war? Supposing—I am only putting for the sake of argument a very big if—supposing the Germans win, would my friend the editor, acting on his Neo-Darwinism, thereupon say that the Kaiser and his army were the fittest because they had proved themselves the strongest? I trow not. I fancy he would immediately again set himself to work to try to prove that such a survival of the fittest was a snare and a delusion, thereby jumping down the throat of his own Darwinism, because if the Germans by reason of their strength were to prove themselves the fittest, what right would the editor of the *Daily Mail* or any one else have to attempt to abrogate their law of evolution by interfering with them?

I have assumed all along, an assumption which I believe to be founded on the sternest and most undisputed fact, that the law of evolution is a true law in the universe, a law which affects the whole of the universe, from every atom of the remotest stellar dust to this planet and everything on it, including man. That theory and that law is the oldest theory which the mind of man has yet conceived. I hinted at the outset that Darwin was the scientific apostle of the West. Students of Eastern thought know that the foundation of the oldest philosophy and religion in the world was the evolutionary idea which Darwin and Wallace independently elaborated in their day. But always the real foundation of that theory has been not antagonism but brotherhood and sisterhood, not hatred but love, not war but peace—a universal peace based on co-operation and mutual aid. Antagonisms

and hatreds and wars are but the passing knots tied by man in the web which time is ever weaving, the fair web of peace, of brotherhood, of good-will.

And as many of you well know, this applies not only to man, but to those very realms of nature on which the ultra-Darwinians base their conceptions and ideas. It is not true what Dr. Aveling says in the terrible passage I read to you. It is false and misleading, and its falsity has been proved incontestably by my old friend and comrade, Prince Kropotkin, in his epoch-making work, *Mutual Aid*, and this phase of the question may be further studied in Delage's *Theories of Evolution*. Kropotkin points out that even in bird life the bird-robber ideally armed is powerless against association and is at last reduced to feeding upon refuse. And he adds, Association (which is Mutual Aid) began with the dawn of animal life: it is a consequence of the very physiological constitution of certain invertebrates such as bees and ants; becomes more conscious or purely social with birds and mammals. It plays in their existence a part at least as important as the struggle between the various classes, and certainly greater than intraspecific struggle and competition. The fittest survive, but who are the fittest? Those who have acquired habits of mutual aid. Natural selection always asserts itself, and is a mighty factor, but how does its action make itself felt? Through the survival of those who know best how to make use of their aptitude for social life, which, in the universal struggle, becomes one of the most efficient weapons.*

No one asserts that Darwin was infallible. Various attacks have been made on him from time to time, but (outside theologians) most of these attacks have been mainly on side issues, not on his central idea. Of the few more laboured ones, my old friend, Alfred

* *Delage.*

Russel Wallace, once told me that he had reviewed them all and not one of them would hold water.

So let us remember, in conclusion, what Darwin's work really was, in relation to the progress of the universe, to our own lives, and to the problems, especially that of war, which we have to solve. He reduced the conception of the universe from chaos to order. True, he saw the struggle, but behind that he saw humanity "lapped in universal law." To him red tooth and raven claw was not the last word either in nature or in man. He finishes his *Origin of Species* by declaring that while this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from a simple beginning, endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being evolved. And that leaves us with this central thought that progress is harmony—that disharmony is death, and from that we may deduce, even in face of blood and iron and slaughter and lust, our final conclusion, that the true aim of life is happiness, and that happiness is the real outcome of evolution. But a happiness to be attained only by concert and co-operation with our fellows, in a word by mutual aid—the subordination of each for the good of all, the combination of all for the uplifting of each—the union of all who love in the service of all who suffer. Apply this thought, this ideal, this true evolutionary conception to each of our life problems, social, industrial, political, warlike, and we shall make a new earth which shall be akin to heaven. An earth in which Prejudice shall give place to Justice—Ignorance to Wisdom—Oppression to Brotherhood—War to Peace—Selfishness to Love. And that new earth shall at last see a harmonious evolution which in very deed and in very truth shall mean the emancipation and regeneration of humanity at large.

BERGSON AND FREE WILL.

BY

CAROLINE E. PLAYNE.

MAY I ask you to consider that the name of Bergson stands in this title merely as a finger-post? I do not propose to enter into or defend any of Bergson's subtly woven arguments. We will not follow the intricacies of either of those thought fugues, which he has carefully constructed, but rather seek to enjoy some of the all-pervading melody of his thoughts. We will consider the general character of his philosophy rather than special points; though finally we shall be led to dwell on one in particular of the all-illuminating, essentially simple themes, which the master-mind has wrought upon with dazzling perspicuity.

Is it just to set up Bergson as a finger-post? I would go further and claim much more for him. I will call him a lighthouse rather; and this, because he indicates a fresh course which the thought of the age should take.

Each great, original thinker, who gives a fresh turn and a new impetus to the thought of the world may well be compared to a lighthouse.

Darwin was such a lighthouse. He threw light on the naturalistic evolution of matter, tracing it from the origin of the lowest species up to the highest development—"man with his god-like intellect." Following his lead, thought—not always in essence but predominatingly in practice—was directed to the

elucidation of objective problems. That is, the problems considered were the problems outside of, apart from, the working of the mind that dealt with them. During the Darwinian period—that which the mind apprehended was taken to be all-important, whilst the mind which apprehended came to be regarded rather as a highly sensitised recording machine. Finally man was regarded no longer as Darwin himself had said: “man with his god-like intellect,” but far more as man the *super-machine*. These naturalistic theories went so far that there came a time when man was supposed to be on the verge of manufacturing himself by scientific means! Even in idealism naturalism reigned. One of the finest, most religious idealists expounded—“The natural law in the spiritual world,” as it was conceived to be in those days.

Now Bergson with his vitalistic theories points out a great change in the course to be pursued by thought, a complete turning round of the way of pursuing knowledge.

He concentrates attention, rather on *that which apprehends* than on *that which is apprehended*.

Whilst for the claims of science man's organised body remains a machine, what our philosopher dwells on is the vitality, the power that interpenetrates the machine. He and others of the vitalistic school would have us studying the power-stream which animates and the response of the living mind and soul, all the marvellous inner processes of the conscious nature of human beings. In this way they emphasise perception rather than what is perceived, apprehension rather than what is apprehended, and especially do they emphasise free determination as against a self-acting process of being determined.

I quote as an example of this, some very illuminating sentences from Algot Ruhe's book on Henri Bergson and his philosophy:

“ In examining perception as isolated from memory we discover a system of nascent acts with roots deep in reality ; and we see that the reality of things is neither constructed nor reconstructed in perception, but touched and lived.”*

We will leave the further consideration of vitalistic thought at this point to return for a moment to the effect of the preceding reign of naturalistic thought, to the effect of the theories which specially fixed attention on the evolution of matter.

And (I submit it as an observed fact rather than as a reasoned statement) that concentration on matter and its mechanical development had a strangely deadening effect on the minds of men. It was like the stunning effect produced by constant loud hammering ; there was an absence of such quickening as is produced by music. The conscious nature was deadened instead of being vivified ; just as hammering deadens and depresses, not as music, which enlivens and exalts, so the effect on the spirit of men was a lowering effect.

Materialistic thought, concentration on matter and mechanical theories, during the last half century, deadened the intellects and souls of men. The strivings of men's higher thoughts and higher efforts were thwarted, blunted, numbed. There was little joy and much dullness.

Take art, higher effort, as an illustration. The later developments of art in sculpture, painting and music do not search for exaltation of soul, they are satisfied with tickling the nerves and exciting the senses. They make no attempt, or only a slight attempt, at heightening vital emotions.

Modern poetry tends to jangle words instead of causing thought to burn brightly. Modern painting jangles colour and pattern instead of striving to make

* p. 151.

the selected vision flow and glow and thrill us with pleasure.

Take religion—higher thought, as an illustration. Religion of late, too often but flourishes the trumpets of organisation, with much clattering of the cup and the platter, or, it sets forth signs and wonders. Religion is either so *useful*, or so *amazing*, that the still small voice of God is smothered, being hushed by bustle or concealed by wonders. This generation seeks for a sign, but in such a way that no sign can be given it.

However, we must not trench on the subject matter of other papers, even by way of illustration. That which it is sought to illustrate may be summed up thus : Men, lured by materialistic philosophy, have been trying to merge their minds and souls into matter, till they have materialised spiritual vision, and almost succeeded in exalting matter to the realm of mind.

As Emerson expressed it :

Things are in the saddle and ride mankind.

A Marlborough school-boy once explained to me the mechanism of a torpedo by means of pictures and diagrams.

One was absolutely dismayed by the wonder with which he regarded this *thing* ! And yet you could scarcely be surprised either. One gathered that this particular piece of mechanism was so magnificently contrived that it seemed almost capable of taking independent action, it appeared to determine which of certain actions to take under certain conditions.

The boy's excitement over this mechanical achievement reflected the soulless joy of his generation. His utter obliviousness of the purpose of the mechanism and of the moral aspects and serious effects of the use of torpedoes well reflected the dull obliviousness of his time. He had the unrefreshed, the unreasoning mind of his day and generation. He was so delighted

with the thing as a toy, that you really could not annoy him by reminding him of the use and purpose of torpedoes. He was the counterpart of the men of to-day, of the men who now-a-days forgo to reason why, if only they may excitedly do and amazingly die!

In a world that concentrates on matter, that conceives itself to be "ridden" by matter, reason is necessarily dethroned. Reason takes its revenge, excitement and unrest usurp its authority, for the unexercised mind calls for exercise, and the deadened soul cries out for stimulation! They are given bustle and intoxication—the bustle of competition, the intoxication of strife and domination, of the will to power.

East and west and north, wherever the battle grew,
As men to a feast we fared, the work of the *Will* to do.

From the context it is clear that Henley sets up a mechanical will to power in these lines, and in the spirited, but excited, unredemptive poem where they occur.*

The age of naturalistic thought adores physical force and produces war. At best it leads the human soul out to a romantic death. The age of material thought, notwithstanding its amazing conquests of matter, is a dull age for conscious beings. The inanition of such an age leads to spurious excitement, tortuous activity, these engender exasperation, anger, hatred, malice. We see men cutting themselves with knives and crying to a brazen heaven to deliver them from the indifference of their lives, from the dullness and monotony of their existence.

A careless generation revels in mechanism and of course tires of its toys and smashes them, when, like an unreasoning and tired child, it reaches the stage of fatigue, *ennui* and irritation.

* To R.F.B.

That men should have reached the stage of wanton destruction is all the more deplorable because quite another course was opening up. In the world of thought a re-action had set in. A fresh philosophy was being propounded as we have noted. It was gaining eager acceptance. Yet vitalistic thought is not a new philosophy, but rather a return, with added knowledge and experience, a return to the older, idealistic philosophies. It propounds not only a far more interesting view of life, but one calculated to furnish satisfaction and much joy and happiness when in its turn it reaches translation into action; for the workings of the inner nature, the development of the conscious spirit satisfy our curiosity and intelligence far better than any amount of mechanical movement.

Bergson and others of the vitalistic school are pointing out that life is not all a dull, mechanical interplay of material forces, but rather a flowing current, subject indeed to the laws of matter, as a river is hemmed in by its banks, but ever moving with a hidden urge, the hidden impulse of life ceaselessly advancing its flow.

Rudolf Eucken puts forth his significant "Either—Or," as he expresses it.* "As men and women we are vitally involved in a natural system." This is the negative side, the "No," But,† "it has become clear that the visible world, rich as it may be in possibilities, fails to satisfy certain imperative requirements of our nature, and, even though we tax its resources to the uttermost, cannot give meaning to life."

However, "in spiritual problems there is usually a 'yes' at the back of every 'no.' The 'yes' is less obvious." It is difficult to sum up shortly Eucken's

* Rudolf Eucken's "Philosophy of Life," p. 87.

† "The Meaning and value of Life." Eucken, p. 74.

“Yes.” Briefly put, he states through much interwoven argument that these “imperative requirements” point to satisfaction. Satisfaction is found in a spiritual life interwoven with the material, a “Yes” which transcends the visible world !

He says, starting from the problems of the inner life, the perplexities of the moral consciousness.* “From this standpoint (*i.e.* the Christian type of life) it is the indwelling of the spiritual world in the movement of a man’s life which gives the latter its true value. . . . It is this which gives to the life of the individual and of the race a true historical meaning, gives it a goal and the passion to reach it.”

But however much he may be dissatisfied with a purely naturalistic life, however much he may crave to awaken out of this death (the dead state of mechanical materialism), how is man to lay hold of this other side, of this shadowy spiritual life, in order to *satisfy* “certain imperative requirements” of his nature? If he is so involved “in a natural system,” how can he ever reach out from the cycle of matter and satisfy his thirst at the fountain of life?

The answer proposed is : By choice, by the exercise of free will. For the newer thought re-instates the freedom of the Will.

Eucken in his more popular but rather vaguer way, says :† “and it becomes clear that all truly spiritual activity involves a recognition and appropriation of the spiritual world, and therewith also an act of *personal decision*.” And again,† “Everywhere we see a clear line of division between a spirituality which is but an external accessory and one which is absolutely our very life. But it can be our own life only in virtue of our own deed and decision—our at-one-ment with the Spiritual Life.”

* *Ibid.*, p. 124.

† *Ibid.*, p. 96.

After long and finely drawn arguments—arguments scientific in character, Bergson postulates freedom thus : “ Freedom is the relation of the concrete self to the act which it performs. This relation is indefinable, just because we *are* free. For we can analyse a *thing*, but not a process, we can break up extensity, but not duration.”

Bergson's statements are so incorporated in the flow of his argument, that it seems better to quote finally a paragraph from Algot Ruhe's account of his philosophy by way of amplification. It is this :

“ We are free when our whole personality is mirrored in our actions ; they should represent us in the fashion so hard to describe, that the poem represents the poet.”*

Bergson, in thus *postulating* freedom as an integral activity of the reasonable soul of man re-asserts what all simple, spiritually minded people have always held as a natural conception. It was the wise and the learned, who all through the ages, got themselves tied up in all kinds of knots by complicating things rather than accept the freedom that was their very own !

This is one reason why vitalistic thought has caught on so rapidly, why the not too learned receive it very gladly.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, let us glance at the infinite possibilities which a re-statement of the Freedom of Will sets up with regard to the *unfolding* of life.

Algot Ruhe, in finishing his account of Bergson's philosophy, says : † “ It (he is speaking of joy) reveals to us our creative power in a life that has become our own. A life we guide and determine towards the fulfilment of our destiny.”

* p. 127.

† p. 242

In his book on "Rudolf Eucken's Philosophy of Life," Dr. Boyce Gibson sums up this philosophy thus : " Our only course is to avail ourselves of the demand made upon us by the very creations of our own human activity, by Science, Art, Society, and, in the light of these, win our way slowly forwards and inwards beyond the given, towards the still undiscovered centre of our spiritual life. Each step in the way must be taken through some form of spiritual *work*—of work, that is, which, in the name of an ideal of beauty, truth or right helps to produce and to realise the very life that inspires it. Thereby we build up for ourselves that new immediacy which can alone secure us the rest and confidence our nature so deeply craves."*

Naturalistic thought, then, leads to war—to strife, competition, domination. If you will—to striving riotously, to dominating gloriously.

Vitalistic thought leads towards pacifism—that is to the purposeful, satisfying creation and perfectioning of life. For we contend that constructive pacifism is the active and determined process of gaining our own souls, of securing life, and of having it more abundantly. We would consciously *choose* life, the common corporate life of mankind. We would embrace life in order to enhance it in all its fulness, we would enjoy life in order to be crowned with its beauty. We would dedicate ourselves to the service of the inner life of the spirit and of the soul, till that glorious stream, overflowing its banks, bears us to the *haven* which all unknown, we yet crave to reach.

* p. 174.

WOMAN'S FUNCTION IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

BY

L. LIND-AF-HAGEBY.

SOCIOLOGICAL inquiry has hitherto given scant attention to the evolutionary side of woman's function in society. Anthropologically, psychologically, historically the place of woman in social forms of the past and the present, presents problems and facts of vital importance to a true conception of the dynamics of social development. The reason for the scientific neglect of the study of the feminine aspect of humanity is undoubtedly to be found in the fact that woman is as yet but on the threshold of social self-consciousness. Men have sketched her function in primitive society ; a vast amount of data bearing upon her place in early agriculture and industrialism has been accumulated and presented with admirable classification ; the subjection of woman in marriage and slavery has been illustrated with a profusion of ethnographical and geographical material, but we search in vain in the pages of Spencer, Comte, Westermarck, Lecky, Buckle, Lester Ward, and Baldwin for a co-ordinated conception of the tendencies which, throughout the ages, have been at work preparing and moulding society to receive woman, not as the sexual complement and social appendix of man, but as the conscious participator and joint creator of a social

order based upon the supremacy of the human spirit. For such a presentation the world must wait until woman has found her voice, and until man can review social phenomena from the bi-sexual point of view.

Between the barren field of sociological literature in relation to woman and the so-called woman's movement the investigator of the trend of woman's development and influence upon society must strike a path which is divergent from both. From Bebel and Mill to the latest treatises on Women's Rights and demonstrations of her fitness for the vote there is the same lack of a basis which is sociologically sound. There is much righteous emotion and indignation, "much evidence" accumulated from slums, factories and workshops, there are excellent analogies from the communities of birds, wolves and apes, but the same want of bi-sexual balance is discernible in these writings. The door between the two rooms in the house social is as yet only ajar, and the language dominating each but imperfectly understood. It may be found, when the time for distilling truth arrives, that the woman-haters, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Strindberg, have uttered more truths about women than the woman lovers. The finest gem of truth is often enclosed in the most unpleasant setting.

To the lack of a sociology based upon the psychological factors of sex may be ascribed the disappointment which pacifists have experienced in the past, when looking to woman as the prime proclaimer of peace to a world rent by national passions and prejudices. "Woman," they said, "bears the sons of man in pain and travail, she knows the cost of giving life, surely she will decry the wickedness of wantonly taking life." But when they turned expectant faces to the great mass of women of the nurseries and the kitchens, to the wives and mothers of soldiers, they found none of

the condemnation which they had looked for. Women, they found, were not only passive on-lookers of bloodshed; they participated by approval and incitement in the feuds of men. In the religious struggles and revolutions of the past, in the great wars which have stirred and poisoned the national consciousness to its utmost depths, women have been as eager as men to proclaim violence, death and bloodshed. *He* struck the blow, *she* handed him the sword.

Throughout the ages women have been the chief sufferers through war. The blood of men has flowed freely on the battlefields, but women have had to pay the long drawn-out instalments of loss and misery caused by war. To *him* the excitement, the glory, the sharp pain of the field of combat; to *her* the waiting and starving, the outrage, the burnt home, the children slain by hunger and want. And yet she did not protest, and yet she did not refuse to bear children for such carnage, and yet she consented to be the perpetual provider of human flesh and blood destined to feed the gigantic idol of human warfare. Why? Because she was but the passive half of humanity, the reflector of man's passions and beliefs, the body obedient to the soul which was he. She did not want to stop war, because to her as to him war was identical with social energy, expansion, virtue, life.

The cause of patriotism has found as eager response in the hearts of women as in those of men, the call for self-sacrifice and service on behalf of the ideals of militarism have not hitherto been checked by any effective or organised protest by the child-bearing section of humanity. Men are but vaguely and indirectly consulted as to the righteousness and necessity for going to war. From the point of view of international politics women have been treated as the obedient and pliant material which they have

shown themselves to be. Their yea or nay has been a matter of indifference.

The instinctive and tacit belief in the natural powers of self-adjustment through anabolic and katabolic processes of social life has helped humanity calmly to contemplate the awful destruction of life and the values of culture by war. Napoleon's famous reference on the battlefield of Austerlitz to the recuperative powers of sex attraction to make good the awful ravages of armed strife is but a cynical and in a sense brilliant summing up of the general attitude. To woman has fallen the lot of building up ; she replenishes the earth, tills the soil, guards the flocks, spins and weaves. She is the cook and the housekeeper, she is the nurse and the guardian of homely comfort from the first tooth to the final funeral dirge. Man guides the destructive forces which have been deemed as necessary as thunder and lightning, storms and frost. He invents arms and projectiles, shells and explosives. Out of primitive murder and blow for blow he makes a fine art and a science of destruction. The hounds of war are unleashed and lo, the homesteads fall into ruins, the peaceful fields are turned into hells of contest and agony, song and music, poetry and beauty flee before the fury of the brute in man. The battle over, the trumpets silenced, the victor and vanquished exultant and exhausted, woman resumes her silent work of the ages. She collects the scorched and scattered objects of home life, she returns to the hearth and the cooking pot, she bears the child and asks no questions. Amongst the graves on one of the battlefields of the Marne, where the turnips grew profusely, I saw an old peasant woman, brown and bent and wrinkled, pulling up weeds. It was but a fortnight after battle, the houses in her village near by were reduced to dust heaps with half a cottage here and there left standing.

Death and destruction had swept over her home, the trench soldiers had been buried in batches all around her. But revolt and questions were not for her ; in the turnips she found the consolation which a philosopher would vainly have wooed from libraries of learning. Thus it has been in the past. What are the indications of the future ? Will the new woman now in process of development through expanding self-consciousness, education, and professional employment, become a living and potent force in opposing militarism and eradicating the causes that lead to war ?

Militarism in the past has ever been the foe of woman's development. It has taken her weaknesses and welded them into a weapon against herself. I cannot do better than quote a passage from a booklet entitled "*Militarism versus Feminism*," recently published by George Allen and Unwin, and well worth reading.

" Militarism has been the curse of women, as women, from the first dawn of social life. Owing to the turmoil in which it has kept every tribe and every nation almost without exception, mankind has seldom been able to pause for a moment to set social affairs in order, and the first and most crying reform has ever been the condition of woman. Violence at home, violence abroad, violence between individuals, between classes, between nations, between religions ; violence between man and woman : *this it is which, more than all other influences, has prevented the voice of woman being heard in public affairs until almost yesterday.* War has created *Slavery* with its degrading results for women, and its double standard of morality from which we are not yet completely free : War, and the consequent enslavement of women, has been the main inducement to *polygamy*, with its conception of women as property, and its debasement of love to physical enjoyment : War has engendered and perpetuated that dominanc

of man as a military animal which has pervaded every social institution from *parliament* downwards. In War man alone rules : when War is over man does not surrender his privileges. Militarist ethics have perverted the peaceful and individualising tendencies of *Industry* to which woman owes so much. Industry has united with competition to produce Industrial Warfare : Commerce has combined with Imperialism for the capture of markets and the exploitation of the lower races. Militarism has ruined *Education* with its traditions of discipline and its conception of history. Militarism has even left its blighting imprint on *Religion*—on Mohammedanism the religion of conquest with its depreciation of women ; on the religion of the Prince of Peace, so that the churches can say what they are not ashamed to say to-day. War, and the fear of War, has kept woman in perpetual subjection, making it her chief duty to exhaust all her faculties in the ceaseless production of children that nations might have the warriors needed for aggression or defence. She must not have any real education—for the warrior alone required knowledge and independence ; she must not have a voice in the affairs of a nation, for War and preparation for War were so fundamental in the life of nations that woman, with her silly humanitarianism, must not be allowed to meddle therewith ! And so War, which the influence of women alone might have prevented, was used as the main argument against enfranchisement, as it had been the main barrier to emancipation in the past. The circle is complete."

The suppression of the feminine side of humanity has made perpetual war possible. The irreconcilable strife between those who believe in war as a purgation from human sloth and vice, and those who believe it to be the apotheosis of every vice and evil, is certainly not a struggle between man on the one side and woman on the other. But as perfect humanity implies the

full and perfect development and combination of male and female characteristics, so a balanced social order is impossible without the influence of free and mentally adult women. Throughout her spiritual childhood, woman has offered no opposition to war. Woman, armed with knowledge, self-possessed, aware of the biological powers which she wields for the doing and undoing of man, will become the relentless enemy of war.

The humanitarian progress of the nineteenth century which may be set down as evidence of the development of the feminine aspect of humanity had, among its initiators and promoters, women whose social conscience re-acted profoundly against the ancient dominion of brute force, violence, and ignorance. Harriett Beecher Stowe, Elizabeth Fry, Josephine Butler, Frances Powe Cobbe, Frances Willard, Florence Nightingale, Bertha von Suttner are a few names which indicate the trend of women's influence. The inner mind and interrelation of movements and causes with which the names of these women are associated has been emphatically acknowledged by Benjamin Kidd in his "Social Evolution." These women were representatives of woman's constructive powers and race-consciousness, elevated to a sphere above the narrower limits of the home and the family.

It may well be said that were the average woman not so ready to patch up the national and international wounds and diseases caused by social injustices and false ideas of life, *radical* changes would more easily be introduced. Every modern war sees hordes of women offering themselves for what may without injustice be called patchwork. The Red Cross Societies, the Committees for providing food and clothes and shelter and funds and comforts are to a very large extent initiated and piloted by women. There is a super-abundance of woman's energy going out towards

relieving the social ills directly caused by war, but the fact that this social energy at present can find no other outlet is no indication of the poor quality of the energy ; it is on the other hand strong proof of the magnificent spirit of self-sacrifice and desire to serve which lives in the womanhood of the nations.

We may well let our imagination picture other socially constructive channels for this energy : the pity, the motherliness, the sympathy, the practical talents, the organising ability of women directly towards building up a new body social, animated by a new spirit of human solidarity. We may also picture other channels for financial energy. Imagine the daily three million pounds which this war costs expended upon schemes for eradicating poverty, disease, slums, crimes. Imagine that sum day by day expended upon making the ideal real, upon creating a new country, a Utopia fulfilled, a kingdom of freedom, peace, health and happiness.

The seasoned old politician will smile at the idea, knowing full well that as yet the ideals of peace do not draw forth the innermost treasures and powers as do the ideals of war. But smile as he may, he does not reckon with the fact that for the first time in the history of the world the terrible tragedy of war is being watched in every country by a new body of critics who will not take the old " impossibles " and the old " it must be so," as conclusive answers. The women who now fight in this war, out at the front for the soldier's life amid scenes and sights too sickening for description, who bear up bravely when the news of death of their beloved ones are brought to the front door, who suppressing their own feelings smilingly receive their dear ones back maimed and crippled, will not forget. In the centuries gone by they forgave and forgot, knowing nothing better. The women who have given twelve long months to relief work, and who,

open-eyed have watched the social devastation of war, the submersion of causes and movements long nurtured, the relegation of art and literature and all the higher manifestations of the human spirit to the background of inefficiency,—the twisting and turning of religion and Christianity, so as to place all warfare on a pedestal of orthodox approval—these women will not forget. They will demand a voice in the prevention of war itself.

SCHOOL ANTIDOTES.

BY

JOHN RUSSELL, M.A.

I HAVE chosen to speak of antidotes because I can only think of those dire things, the lust of war, the worship of war, and the fear of war, as poisons—racial poisons—bequeathed to us in the blood of a thousand generations, and not to be counteracted by a sermon or two, or a conference or two, or even a pacifist school or two.

That these poisons may themselves have begun as racial antidotes, racial preservatives, and may once have served a useful evolutionary purpose, I have no difficulty in believing. But that already for long ages their good has been an evil "corrupting the world," is the conviction that brings me here to-day.

In what I am going to say therefore I shall take for granted that war, however apparently justified, however apparently inevitable, is always twice cursed—cursing them that attack and them that defend. I shall also take for granted that processes of education (as we call our imperfect attempts at child-training), planned and applied with knowledge and wisdom, do affect the quality of the character of human beings no less surely than they affect the quality of the body and the intellect. Lastly, I must also take for granted (what to some will give pain, I know, but what I must say or be silent), that the only effective means

of the processes of education must be deduced by human knowledge and human wisdom from human experience.

One other preliminary word. Though I speak of school antidotes only, I do not forget (who can ever forget?) that school at its best is only one link (I sometimes think the weakest link) in the endless chain of educational influences—homes, streets, friends, books, theatres, churches, the total environment, in short, that rounds our lives, little and big.

I am now going to try to indicate some of the ways in which it seems to me, a veteran schoolmaster, that a pacifist school might do something (I dare not prophesy how much), might at least do something more effectively than has ever been done before, towards sending its boys and girls into the quarrelsome big world intelligent opponents of war and champions of peace. Of more than that I see, at present, little hope.

There are two main ways in which the little community of school may set out to awaken in its young citizens a generous sense of citizenship: directly, by instruction and discipline, suggestion and appeal; indirectly, by the quality of the environing framework (so to speak), within which these direct activities are focussed, and especially, as I think, by the presence in that framework of elements of liberty and opportunity—"the sight of means to do *good* deeds."

As these indirect influences are far more potent than any of our direct efforts (which indeed without them are a building not so much upon the sand as in the air), I shall consider them first.

I can put my whole case in a sentence or two. The temper of school, the atmosphere of school, must reflect or follow from (and at the same time must itself illumine and show the way to) the temper and atmosphere we desire to see pervading the nation and

the great world, the temper, the spirit, that will some day, as so many of us hope and believe, bring real peace on earth and real goodwill to men—and not to man alone. And peace, that is really peace, means much more to me (and of course to us all) than the mere cessation of the particular cruelty and injustice called war ; it means also the cessation of all other cruelty, all other injustice, all other suffering that we inflict, or allow to be inflicted, upon our fellows.

With the strokes of fate, of nature, however heavy, I have no quarrel. They are part of the discipline of the school of life, and we must all be content to do our best to learn our lessons and, when we fail, to take the consequences,—in spite of which consequences, I, at least, am still able to declare with passionate conviction that life is good. The only consequences that ever seem intolerable, that sometimes, as now, almost shake my unshakeable faith in the reality of goodness, in the worth of living, are the consequences of our own ignorance and selfishness and folly—our ignorance, especially of life values, individual and national ; our selfishness, especially in our claims upon life (and upon our neighbours) ; and our folly, especially in our refusal to study life, in our indolent acquiescence in second-hand schemes of living. To me these three things are the root causes of all wrong. With goodwill enough, with capacity and knowledge enough, and with wisdom enough, we could surely transfigure the world. Those three then (and the greatest of these is goodwill) in all their varied aspects are the highest concern of schools—if schools of all ranks and all arms could but believe it and act on the belief.

Educators, whoever they may be—parents, teachers, preachers—legislators, must never fail in allegiance to either of them, must hold knowledge in honour however little they know, wisdom in honour however

difficult they find it to be wise, and goodwill in honour however difficult they find it to be kind. There are different kinds of goodwill, I know. There is a goodwill which is chiefly of the head, which is half blind and afraid. And there is goodwill which is chiefly of the heart, which therefore has vision and fearless sympathy. Goodwill of the head is apt to balance too nicely service and desert. Goodwill of the heart is without reservations. It ungrudgingly recognises the full claims of the neighbour, the other self—whoever that neighbour may be—the equal rights in the sacred quest for happiness, the equal value to all of liberty, and self-expression, and congenial work and respite from work. It makes allowance for all defects. "A friend should bear a friend's infirmities." Yes, but also an enemy's. Goodwill of the heart never punishes for the virtuous thrill of punishing—seldom indeed punishes at all, though it may, like a doctor, prescribe. It never seeks unfair advantage, is more ready to give than to take, is prone to sacrifice, and cares more than for anything else for justice—for which it has been known to die.

With such a temper and atmosphere, with such goodwill as their highest attribute and their highest gift, schools could, I think, do much for peace—especially if from the all-powerful world outside they had the sympathetic backing without which schools will for the most part continue to labour, at least for the things of the spirit, in vain.

From the desire for such a temper in the school-master there would follow certain practical consequences in the school, certain modifications of the environing framework.

For instance: my own strong conviction is that human values (the basis of all fellowship that is not mere cant) will be more completely realised in a school

where boys and girls grow up together on equal terms.

I am an uncompromising opponent of all social separations and segregations, whether of sexes or classes, in schools or council chambers. If our business is really to love one another, that we can never do if we never meet except on terms of bashfulness or commercialism or hostility. Every day of our life is a lesson in life, and the most precious part of the lesson is the revelation of the essential equalities between man and woman no less than between man and man.

A complicated misprint in something I wrote the other day made me say that there were three great schoolmasters—Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. I shall always be grateful to that mis-printer. His mistake enshrines a profound truth.

Among other indirect influences of the school environment I have already mentioned the sight of means to do good deeds. To this must be added the liberty to do, or not to do them. To the idea of liberty in the school (or rather of liberty plus opportunity) I attach, not only in theory but in daily practice, the very highest importance.

There are limits to all liberty, and the limits of boys and girls must, I suppose, be narrower than yours or mine. But the principle of the limit (so easy to define, so difficult to apply) is almost the same in both cases—respect for the equal liberty and equal rights of others. Not quite the same, because children must be protected (with such wisdom as we can command) from their sometimes too wayward selves.

Opportunity is afforded by allowing children (of all ages) the fullest possible effective share both in the choice of their activities and in the general management of their miniature republic—or, if you prefer

it, constitutional monarchy—a degree of democratic control that we have not yet arrived at (even we who are outside Prussia) in our own grown-up affairs.

It will be clear from what I said at the beginning that religion (as generally understood) would have no place in the environment of the pacifist school as I conceive it. It would be unsuitable here to tell you why, but I must at least indicate how I should fill the gap. That I have a religion of my own has been implicit, I hope, in everything I have said. Let me, at the risk of talking like a prig, for a moment be a little more explicit. I care only for this life. The chief boon I ask from it is happiness—for myself and for all men. Duty is the impulsion to seek that co-operative happiness. The highest good (in the old pagan sense) is the fulfilment of duty. That good I worship, and, with such health as is in me, try to serve, whether as private citizen or as school-master. And so to me school is nothing but a nursery of constructive good—of the vision of good, of the will to good, and of the power to good—a vision, a will, and a power, that shall begin to make their mark on school days, and shall never cease to make their deeper mark on life days.

I come now to what I have called the more direct instruments of education—the subjects we teach (as we say) in class, the various activities we directly stimulate, the rewards (or should it be bribes?) we offer, the deterrents (or inverted bribes) we threaten.

First let me say that inside the class room, whatever the subject, and outside the class-room, whatever the activity, there must always prevail the same temper and atmosphere of goodwill and liberty and justice that I have already described.

Of the subjects taught some, of course, have more of the so-called humanities in them, more peace-value than others. Most precious (in my unorthodox

judgment) are literature, which at its best is the expression of human idealism; history, at its best the expression of human achievement; geography, the expression of human interdependence; living languages, the symbol of solidarity; science, the symbol of accurate thought; art, the symbol of beautiful thought; and, lastly, economics and handwork (in which I should wish to include a certain elementary familiarity with as many of the basic materials and processes as may reasonably find a place in the school equipment)—for, to me, handwork, the faithful doing, and economics, the fair exchanging, of the essential foundation-tasks of life, are the symbols of all spiritual tasks and achievement—the right and beautiful use of all material things.

To develop the peace value of any one of these subjects of instruction would take a paper to itself. I can only now say that nearly all of them may almost be trusted to teach their own deep lessons. Nevertheless they will have an added value at the hands of teachers who understand their significance in our sense—our pacifist sense—and are free to proclaim it. Understood and interpreted in the opposite sense (as they will sometimes certainly be), literature and history and the rest will be quoted (like Scripture) for the devil's purpose, and some day perhaps produce in our England some such educational results as we seem to see in Germany to-day.

As to discipline and its chief instruments (rewards and punishments), I will have nothing to do with punishment in the ordinary sense. To all shortcomings—idleness, mistakes, misdemeanours, misunderstandings, jealousies, quarrels, unkindnesses, and all other poison germs that infest schools no less than nations—the attitude of the staff (and of the Prefects or Sixth Form), must be the attitude of

friend and physician and judge ; absolute sympathy, patient diagnosis, careful dieting, trial by jury, democratic courts of conciliation and arbitration and appeal, no privilege, and, above all, an even-handed Lord Chief Justice ; and in the last resort of necessary penalty (I hate the word but can find no other) then a penalty which in the first place shall be logical, in the second place humane, and in the third place proportionate. All physical chastisement seems to me as illogical, as inhuman, as out of all proportion as the death penalty of our law courts. And I still believe (in spite of a lifetime of apparent failures) in the ultimate efficacy of the appeal to reason.

As to rewards in the ordinary sense of marks and prizes, I will have nothing to do with them either. Do you remember Coriolanus : " I cannot make my heart consent to take a bribe to pay my sword ? " Germany, I suppose, is now claiming Belgium as a prize. For what ? Diligence or good conduct ? No, there is only one reward for both—the inner satisfaction at having (allow me the vivid old phrase) " played the game," a satisfaction sometimes touched with the sweetness of the greater love of friends.

The pacifist school must help children to understand this. And those who understand will be less likely to covet more than their fair share of the good things of the nation or the good things of the world.

Of out-of-class activities, I will mention only two—the one to bless, the other to condemn. It is, of course, not true that Waterloo (as is too often said) was won on the playing fields of Eton. The vast majority of Englishmen who fought in that great fight had probably never heard of Eton. Where they got their pluck and their endurance I am not sociologist enough to divine. Most likely in the *working* fields of every English county. But even if there are to be no more Waterloos (or Armageddons) our playing-

fields will still have their great uses as training grounds for nobler battles in the eternal war (as it seems) with disease and the flabby vices of the slacker. My only trouble with our playing fields is that there are not enough of them. Some day an inspired Chancellor of an inspired Exchequer will make even the taxpayer believe that, if anybody is to go without, it must not be our starving elementary schools.

The activity in our schools (in some of our schools) I fear and condemn is the militarist activity. I know no other name for it. I myself am not yet for peace at any price. If life, or that which gives life its worth, is attacked, it must be defended. It is a tragic waste of the human spirit, but it is the lesser of two tragic wastes. And so long as homicidal madness stalks the earth, we who are sane must be prepared to resist it. But I am not convinced (I doubt whether I could ever be convinced) that the necessary special preparation in soldiering, in mechanical discipline, need begin in our schools, in the precious seed-time. Think of the desecrated seed-times and harvest-times of Europe to-day. I fear some such spiritual desecration in our schools, if their noblest energies are to be diverted from learning to live to learning to kill. If they really desire peace they must prepare for peace.

In the face of these vast and tragic issues it seems almost grotesque for me (for anyone) to stand here like some "chattering sparrow," as even statesmen have cried in their impatient scorn. But is it grotesque? Is there any other road to the city of splendid peace many of us are so ardently seeking than this taking of counsel together?

I dare not say (as some would say) that the schools can save the nations. I dare hardly say (as very many have said) that the present tragedy is at bottom a tragedy of education—unless you will take education in my sense, as the rallying spirit of all the forces

fighting under the banner of good. For the moment those forces have suffered grievous defeat. Why? Nobody knows. But I will hazard the suggestion that one of the deepest causes is that few of us have yet learned to live together in amity even in our own homes. And if we are not at peace with our brothers and sisters whom we have seen, how shall we be at peace with our neighbours whom we have not seen?

THE BELLICIST THEORY OF STATE STRUCTURE.

BY

THOMAS BATY, D.C.L.

THE purpose of the present paper is to show, in as few words as may be, how the spirit of domination relying on crude physical force, which was happily christened "bellicism," permeates not only the system of international politics, but the whole of our state structure. In two words, the scope of this essay is to apply to constitutional law and state affairs what is so well said by other and clearer voices regarding international law and foreign affairs.

It is surprising that the universal prevalence of the domination idea in state policy has not attracted more attention. And yet not altogether surprising. For in international affairs the monster is chained and curbed. You can see his struggles and fierce contortions. You may chance to have a lick of his tail, in Poland or Flanders. Yet states do not dominate one another. But within the state the monster of domination has won his victory. His griffin's paw is on the prostrate form of freedom. His grip is complacently secure. You forget that he is there—for he is quiet. He needs to be none otherwise.

Within the state no one thinks of any alternative to dominance but anarchy—the domination of the

casual strongest. There have been one or two feeble attempts at curbing the griffin. The French declaration of the rights of the individual and citizen has not been entirely fruitless, vague as it may sound to Anglo-Saxons. The American constitution, enshrining certain principles beyond the reach of ordinary legislation,—making it for instance exceedingly difficult to legislate so as to impair the obligation of contracts,—has given the example of removing some subjects from the sphere of arbitrary dictation. Whether they are precisely the subjects which we would have chosen, is immaterial. But all such efforts have hitherto been very tentative and limited. Sometimes they have been wide in range. Iowa has put in its constitution provisos regarding grain elevators. But that only means that such provisions can be altered with a little more difficulty than less sacred statutes:—the effort, though wide in range, is half-hearted and very weak. It only waters down the force of the State constitution, which, far from being a permanent bulwark, is only a series of somewhat specially secured legislation.

Everywhere the dogma of an omnipotent, coercive dominating assembly of some kind or other is assumed, as the basic axiom of politics. There may be a constitution, but some constituent assembly is definitely contemplated as invested with power to alter it, and to instal itself as dictator.

Everywhere the offensive language of Acts of Parliament is complaisantly regarded; and we even take as a matter of course the still less tolerable bluntness of municipal and county by-laws. These codes appear to select as their model the Decalogue. But their authors are not inspired, or even very modest; otherwise they might reflect that a categorical imperative which comes with some force from the Eternal Creator, is scarcely appropriate to themselves; and

so reflecting, they might be led to study the simplicity of their model rather than its abruptness.

Professor Dicey traces the legal omnipotence of the British Parliament to the supposed omnipotence of the mediæval English Kings. But the mediæval monarch was not legally omnipotent. He was a feudal monarch; and we may say what we please of the feudal system, but the fact remains that it was an intensely legal system. The hierarchy of lords and vassals had reciprocal rights and duties. They might not be very well defined, any more than the reciprocal right of modern nations. They might not be invariably observed. Their infraction might seldom lead to penal consequences. But they were there, all the same, as the law of nations is, and like it, they were not without a deep and profound influence. The feudal king did not feel himself absolved from law, or above the law; though he might not seldom break the law. He was, moreover, bound by the law of the Church, and that with serious penalties to back it. So that it seems impossible to derive the omnipotence of parliament from the omnipotence of the king. The dogma does not seem older than Coke, who wrote under the early Stuarts. And he spoke it of a Parliament in which unanimity was the rule and divisions the rare exception. There is no difficulty in accounting for the legal omnipotence of an assembly in which all interests were represented and in which all concurred. One or two early instances of references to majority decisions are indeed to be found in the Year Books. These relate merely to the quantum of money grants; and in such matters of detail it is easy to admit the majority principle.

It is rather to the practical omnipotence of the Tudor kings, who found a ruined baronage and a helpless people unable to withstand their exactions, that we must trace the omnipotence of Parliament.

Parliament was a convenient and decent cloak for the autocratic rule of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. ; and it was under the latter monarch that Parliament began to be recognised as omnipotent, even when it reached its decisions by majority. For they were always the king's desired decisions, and the king had planted his foot on the neck of the nation.

There long remained a lingering feeling that there were some things which a parliamentary majority could not do. Traces of such a feeling are to be found as late as Camden and Blackstone in the later eighteenth century. For all practical purposes, however, the dogma of parliamentary omnipotence had been swallowed and digested. It had come to be solemnly admitted that there did exist in England a limited body of persons, of limited intelligence, whose most capricious or careless decrees would prevail over the most settled and peaceable habits of ordinary people. Before their dictation the ordinary person was as servile as any Persian or Mandingo. Our grand invention of representative government saved his *amour-propre*, and at infrequent intervals put five pounds in his pocket ; but it did little more. If once you recognise the absolute autocracy of seven hundred people, the means by which they are chosen is a detail. Thirty millions of people cannot possibly exercise an effective check and control over them. In fact, the seven hundred can exercise no effective control over what is ironically called "their committee"—the Cabinet. To provide efficient control over Parliament and Cabinet, there was developed under Walpole the party system, which is nothing more nor less than the development of a quite autocratic duplicate apparatus, controlled by the party leaders as perfectly as ever any country was controlled by its absolute king. It is a reciprocating engine which drives the state coach over all obstacles. The bulk of the legislation

passed in any session of Parliament is not legislation in which the country takes the slightest interest. It is legislation which the government departments want, and which the party leaders are perfectly willing to give them.

No ruler, however autocratic—no Sultan or Czar—is independent of popular feeling. Our party governments are no exception. But the difference between an autocratic and a free government is that in the latter there are perfectly definite and well-understood limits beyond which the government not only dare not but cannot lawfully go. My point is that there are no such limits in any modern state. The state is an acknowledged absolute dictator.

And this I call the bellicist theory of state structure ; the theory that the rulers or managers of affairs—however elected or supported—may lawfully dispose, at their absolute will, of the lives, honour and liberty of the persons within the territory subject to them. It is the old theory of subjection and domination, persistent in civil as in international relations, and hashed up for the consumption of the twentieth century. Veiled in whatever sauces, disguised by whatever flavourings, domination and the desire for domination are the same favourite dishes of the statesman of to-day as they were for his ancestor. His sole idea is to launch his edicts, his threats of prison and fine, and so to mould the world a little more to his liking:—to abolish this absolutism is the crux of politics. To get rid of the idea of “cracy” altogether,—of democracy as well as of autocracy. Sometimes its existence tells against a whole province, and when this is so the problem is already partly solved. Schemes of federation are already in working order. Their essence is the division of political power, so that no authority can be said to be absolute. But federations can, of necessity, touch only the fringe of the

problem. The federated provinces remain themselves as dominating as ever, so far as their own people are concerned. Perhaps they have lost one claw ; religious persecution, for instance, may have been withdrawn from them by the federal constitution. But their general power and spirit remains what it was—coercive, dictatorial, breathing out threats, slaughter and domination.

Now of course if public opinion approved this spirit of domination ; if government by threats and dictation were to its mind, it would be impossible to think of altering it, except by an enormously long and slow process of education. But it is quite obvious that public opinion does not. I am not speaking of newspapers—those toys of the grown-up—but of the realities of popular thought. And I do not believe that popular thought has anything but contemptuous toleration for the processes of dictatorial government and legislation. In the popular mind it is deeply engraved that ignorant interference by a stranger with a person's house and family is no more tolerable or beneficial because that stranger is called a town clerk or an inspector.

We cannot give effect to that deep popular conviction by expressing it in black and white. It is impossible to lay down in detail the rights of the man and the citizen in such a way as to satisfy completely the sense of right. For one thing, the standard of right changes, and, on the whole, rises. In the eighteenth century only a Laurence Sterne or a William Cowper would have given a thought to the Rights of Animals, or would have considered it incumbent upon them to come between a man and his donkey. Even where standards are not changing, circumstances are ; it is impossible to provide beforehand for every contingency. Any black and white charter of unchallengable liberties would prove only a will o' the

wisp. But on the other hand, without precise details, declarations of abstract right may be made to mean anything in practice, and may be swept away at pleasure by a declaration of state necessity. The right of the man and the citizen go for very little in a state of siege. What, then, is the remedy? What is the true means of giving effect to the popular conviction of the inalienable liberty of the subject and the inviolability of his home?

I take it to be simply this: the *morcellement* of political power. The infinite subdivision of nations. Domination is possible because the area of government is so vast. Thirty millions of people cannot consult and combine, even to throw off a yoke. They are, in virtue of that, an easy prey to the organised cliques which impose themselves on them: their Old Men of the Sea. It is quite absurd for any individual to think of resisting the organised machine of party. He cannot appeal to and convince a million individuals.

But narrow the scene of government. Let injustices, insolences, meannesses be perpetrated in the heart of a community small enough for each of its members to know the rest—and the community will soon find a way to curb them. Domination withers away under the contempt of people who know and trust one another, without the need of a written enumeration of the rights of man. The rights of the individual citizen are written on the fleshy tables of each heart. For then we have a self-conscious city, and not a dead empire.

The domineering might still seek to dominate. But they would be met by the organised self-conscious strength of a free community. Power would be interpenetrated by knowledge.

And in such a community, much that is baneful in our modern civilisation would disappear. Who would be moved by the frantic appeals of advertise-

ment, when his own townsmen, with whom he shared the priceless gift of independence, were also in the market? Who would patronise an under-cutting scheme of freezing-out, when the result of its success would patently be *their* ruin? Who would see his neighbour visibly starve at his door?

Such non-dominated communities must necessarily be very small. I suppose there might well be tens of thousands of them in England. It would be necessary to secure that they should not attack each other. The simple law of this federation should be that none should forcibly invade another's boundaries. That law, at all cost of tears and terror, should be preserved, iron and inflexible. Self-redress and revenge should be absolutely barred. For the discussion and adjustment of matters interesting whole cantons, counties, provinces, kingdoms, a hierarchy of councils would doubtless be found convenient, but they should not be coercive except in the one matter of preventing invasion.

A nation organised as a federation of self-conscious units would be to the mechanical masses known as nations at present what a tree is to a post,—what a spring-hung carriage is to a wheelbarrow. It would have an elastic force derived from the harmony of its parts which would place it on an entirely different plane from the coerced state under central domination. Every single person within its limits would have the serene confidence that no harm could happen to her without the universal concurrence of those who knew her. Greater liberty is impossible. To have less is servile.

The organisation would have the further advantage of being independent for its continued existence of courts and lawyers—whether at the Hague or elsewhere. It has been counted as the glory of the American constitution to have made the pivot of its maintenance

a Supreme Court. On the somewhat rash assumption that such legalism is inevitable, if principles of freedom and peace are to be put beyond the caprices of elected persons, it has been made a reproach to all schemes of federation and constitutional guarantee that they involve an excessive and cramping legalism. But localism, entrusting frankly the whole political power to those who know each other, disembarrasses itself of all perplexing questions as to conflicts of power between central and local authorities. National structure is made to depend, not on legal quibbles, but on broad general understandings.

Needless to say, no such organisation as this could be set up in a day. To attempt to introduce it by a stroke of the legislative pen would be a solecism indeed. For if this localism means anything, it means organic growth, and correspondence with the processes of organic nature. If it supplants the present *régime* of absolutism, it must be by a gradual organic process. It must be by neighbours learning to stand together and to help each other,—here and there, at first, until the glowing points of self-created light begin to blaze into a constellation, and each self-coherent knot of fellow-workers begins to be conscious that outside its own boundaries there are nothing but other knots of, on the whole, decent and friendly people. And then the dominations will crumble quietly away, and the town clerk, the sanitary inspector and the rest of the myrmidons of dictatorial government will be found minding their own business and doing something really useful: it may be composing sonatas, it may be only peeling potatoes; but some really constructive work. It might be necessary to establish an asylum for the more hopeless cases, in which they might be encouraged to spend all day in drafting more and more clauses of bye-laws, and in spinning more and more webs of tangle to catch the unskilled; whilst entirely happy

evenings could be spent in confirming and sealing one's own productions, and in disallowing with the best official frigidity the effort of others ; and then on the next day these Penelopes of tape and dockets could begin hopefully all over again. If they had sufficient tennis and champagne it would be a much happier life than their present mode of existence.

But I do not think these homes of rest need be very large. On the fevered mind of the official, as he played with his red tape and blue forms on the lap of the earth, there would surely break, in her sapphires and sunsets, a vision of her life ; he might remember that he, too, was living, and might love.

BACKWARD RACES AND DIVERGENT CULTURES.

BY

ALICE WERNER.

I HAVE two objections to Rudyard Kipling's poem, "The White Man's Burden," though it is a very noble statement—the finest that can be found—of the "imperial" ideal. First, it libels the subject peoples—or, if he is referring to those not yet subject, we may say the backward, the primitive, the savage, the younger peoples—whichever you please. Secondly, it assumes as put into actual practice an ideal at best only imperfectly realised and, too often, not even aimed at. I might add a third point for consideration, namely, whether the ideal, even if completely realised would be entirely satisfactory.

Take up the White Man's Burden,
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go, bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need ;
To wait, in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.

Now, it is always unfair to strain a metaphor too far, but in this case I cannot help looking a little more closely at the figure employed than one is apt to do on a casual reading, when the swing of the verse carries you on too quickly to observe details. This

figure seems to me to contain a flaw which vitiates the whole ideal structure. It is implied that the peoples in question are to be caught and broken in like wild horses—for whose benefit? Very likely the horses are the better, in the end, for being caught and trained—but does anyone pretend that the trainer sets about his work in order to benefit the horses? And if not, how can we contend that the “imperial” task is

To seek another's profit
And work another's gain?

Again I repeat, the ideal is a very noble one. To “bring cosmos out of chaos,” to introduce the arts of peace among people who live by preying on each other, to make the wilderness habitable and irrigate the desert, build roads and bridges, fight disease and famine—all this is so abundantly worth doing that it would ill become us to be critical of some blundering and roughness in the effort.

But has there, in the history of the world, been a clear case of conquest from disinterested motives such as these? The religious reasons sometimes alleged for the Spanish conquest of the New World were not the primary ones, though they were brought in as a justification and, no doubt, weighed with many who might have scrupled to support the movement on other grounds. Our own conquest of India, we have been told over and over again, came about by accident—that is, it was not the outcome of any deliberate plan. No one can pretend that either this or the acquisition of our own North American dominions took place in order to promote the interests of the natives.

This is not to deny that good to the conquered has sometimes resulted from conquest. This undoubtedly has been the case, though perhaps not to the degree that we—the conquerors—would like to believe. But that is quite another matter, and, at

best, does not prove that the conquest was in the first instance justifiable.

Again, forcible annexation *may* become necessary and indeed inevitable, where a lawless people on the borders of a civilised state are a menace, not only to it but to their weaker neighbours. I cannot give an instance, because I do not feel sure of any where the case was perfectly clear—that is, where the necessity was genuine and all interested motives ruled out. Perhaps the nearest approach to the fulfilment of the conditions was made by the Chinese empire which never attempted—and in general avoided—foreign conquests, but gradually extended its domains by policing the nomad Tartar tribes on its borders. But I know too little of Chinese history to press this point.

If the theory of the White Man's Burden held good how could we ever decline to extend the protection of our empire to people who ask for it? Yet this has happened once in South Africa, and once, I believe, in the New Hebrides. The South African case was that of the Gaza people, whose chief, Umzila, in 1882, sent a message to the Governor of Natal asking for protection against the Portuguese. The tusks of ivory brought by the messengers were accepted—conveying, according to native custom, an assurance that the petition was granted; but no answer was sent; and soon afterwards, by concluding the Anglo-Portuguese convention, we bound ourselves not to interfere. To do so need have involved no real wrong to our allies—but the incident does not appear to have been thought worth the expenditure of any diplomacy.

The inner history of annexations, necessitated by the alleged barbarity of the annexees has, when exposed, so often revealed cupidity or some personal grudge as the ulterior motive, that one hesitates to believe in the necessity without knowing all the facts. Lobengula

was allowed to exercise his rough justice on his subjects for many years before the desirability of acquiring his gold mines caused it to appear in a different and sinister light.

No one will understand me to mean that in this and similar affairs the British Government as such was actuated by the motives implied. But the Government acts on the representations of people on the spot, who may or may not be disinterested and, if they are, are too often the unconscious tools of men less scrupulous than themselves. We may remember occasions on which missionaries have petitioned for the annexation of a territory, or for drastic action against some chief whom they consider as an obstacle to their cause. No doubt they were perfectly sincere in their contentions, but their outlook was limited, and perhaps unconsciously somewhat biassed by their own interests—I mean the desire to maintain, from the best motives, their own power and influence. They lost sight of justice in expediency, even though it may have seemed to them the highest religious and ethical expediency, and their very integrity has, too often, only furthered the designs of politicians able to take longer views and less hampered by scruples.

It seems to be generally assumed, in a vague way, that the "new-caught" or to-be-caught peoples are in themselves and of necessity a danger. But, to begin with, we cannot dismiss them all with one glib formula. They may be dying or decadent races, like some of the Polynesians and American Indians,*

* I cannot here examine the question whether any of these people have actually perished of their own inherent decadence. The notion of their dying away in some mysterious and inexplicable manner before the approach of the white man is an exploded figment; it is only too well known how the white man has in cases known to us assisted that disappearance. The Tasmanian aborigines were notoriously exterminated by *force majeure*; they were on an island, with no chance of escape, and their extinction does not prove that they were degenerate. It has been said that the North American Indians "were already dying out" before the advent of Europeans.

or they may be young, vigorous broods, with a splendid future before them. They may be turbulent raiders, like the Somali, or peaceful agriculturists like the Mang'anja and Pokomo. There may, for aught I know, be some—perhaps on our Indian frontier, with which the poet is acquainted at first-hand, and I am not—who can be accurately described as “half-devil”:—I only know that this description does not apply to any Africans I have ever come across. They are not in any real sense cruel—they may, like children, do cruel things for want of thought or knowledge,—or they may, as sometimes happens, have become brutalised by ill-usage; but the picture of the blood-thirsty savage who is so often regarded as the typical African is largely mythical. Nor can it be said that they have shown themselves aggressively hostile to foreigners landing on their shores, even when fear of the unknown might have explained, if not excused, an attack. In every known case of hostility, during the early days of European intercourse with Africa, the aggressors were invariably the Europeans. Take the case of Vasco da Gama landing in St. Helena Bay (1497). Some natives (Hottentots, probably) came down to the beach, and somehow or other friendly communications were established with them. A man named Fernão Veloso volunteered to return with them to their kraal, but on the way, becoming suspicious of their intentions (with what, if any, ground, it is

Whether true or not (and it has been pressed as though it somehow justified their subsequent treatment) this statement seems incompatible with that of the unaccountable effect produced by the white man's mere presence. There may be this much foundation for the latter, that a hunting race cannot subsist before the advance of cultivation, unless they either have unlimited wilderness to retreat into, or change their habits—as has been done by the Wakwafi (a branch of the Masai), and is being done by the Wasanye in East Africa. But this is an economic phenomenon and easily explained as such; there is no mystery about it. In the South Seas, we have to deal with a special set of circumstances, which cannot be discussed within the limits of a note.

impossible to say), he turned and ran back to the boat, shouting for help, and followed—probably out of curiosity—by the Hottentots. The result was a skirmish, in which “the white men believed that they did some execution with their cross-bows.”*

Again, some years later, Antonio de Campo, landing somewhere in the present Cape Colony, though treated in a perfectly friendly manner by the natives, seized several of them and carried them off as slaves. It is not surprising that the next Portuguese who arrived at this place were attacked. There are other known cases of the kind—and who knows how many more left unrecorded?

Not to weary you with generalities, let me take one concrete case, that of the Zulus. They were never, from the beginning, anything but friendly towards us. Their relations with the Boers are a different matter: there certainly was aggression—or what the Zulus took to be such—and it was terribly avenged. Subsequent history is hopelessly complicated by the impartial way in which we have continued to be unjust to both—simultaneously or by turns. The emancipation of the slaves involved a good deal of unfairness and hardship, due, probably, to mere muddle, but none the less exasperating to those who suffered by it, and many of whom, no doubt, were those who least deserved to suffer. We annexed the Transvaal, in 1877, against the will of its inhabitants—yet almost at the same time we handed over to it the lands of which the Zulus had gradually been robbed by a succession of lawless frontiersmen; and, just after this had been done, a tardy Border Commission gave its award in favour of the Zulus, with whom by that time we were at war. This war—it is scarcely necessary at this time of day to mention the fact—was forced on

* The details of this affair are given very fully and impartially in the first volume of Dr. McCall Theal's *History and Ethnography of South Africa*.

the Zulus with the deliberate design of breaking the power of their king, who was held to be "a danger," and accused of atrocities, such as the wanton massacre of "many hundreds of girls," which have been disproved over and over again.

Cetshwayo, like his father Mpande, was uniformly friendly and loyal in his dealings with the British Government. He was an enlightened and progressive man and would have welcomed a Resident to advise him both as regards foreign policy and the reforms which he had at heart, and which he intended to introduce gradually, as he succeeded in getting his people to accept them. For it must be remembered that the Bantu chief is not a despotic ruler, who can change law and custom by his mere fiat. Probably even the old kings of Uganda, whose lurid doings are reported by Burton and Speke, were more bound by custom and tradition than outsiders could imagine. There is a very general misconception as to this matter, which, in one instance at least, has had disastrous consequences. When the native law of Natal was codified, it was assumed that the paramount chief—such a man as Cetshwayo in Zululand or Moshesh in Basutoland—was "above all law"; and the Governor of Natal, in his capacity of "Supreme Chief of the Natives," was accordingly placed in this anomalous and false position. So little, indeed, has the true state of affairs, been understood, that a Commission inquiring into native affairs, in 1906-7, could urge, as the best remedy for existing evils, an increase in the autocratic powers of the Governor—oblivious of the fact that, according to the assumptions of the Code, this would be impossible.*

* I do not know how far the doctrine in question is explicitly stated in the Code as it stands. But it was expressly affirmed in 1874 in a "Judgment of the Lieutenant-Governor with the advice of the Executive Council." The best evidence for the real position of a South African native chief is to be found in the Report of the Cape Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs (1883).

When we hear of righteous wars, undertaken to end what Kingsley, in the case of Mexico, called a "cannibal fiend's tyranny,"—or to deliver ill-treated missionaries—as in Abyssinia in 1866—it behoves us carefully to examine *all* the facts. As regards Abyssinia, no one can read Mr. Waldmeier's Autobiography without perceiving that the accepted accounts give, at most, but one side of the story, and that the difficulties might have been solved in a peaceful manner. Mr. Waldmeier, a Swiss who had worked for some years in Abyssinia, and was one of the imprisoned missionaries, was well acquainted with the unfortunate Theodore, whose insanity brought about the crisis. It is clear, from his testimony, and that of other competent observers, such as Captain Speedy, that the king, before his mind gave way, was an able man, of fine and generous character.

One's ideas about Ashanti, too, are found to require reconstruction after perusing such a book as Dr. Austin Freeman's.* The "customs" which aroused the horror of the civilised world were, as he points out, part of the judicial system of the country (which had gone on for centuries without interference from Europeans) and were a mere pretext for the wars of 1873 and 1895, which had other grounds, mainly commercial. These customs were horrible, of course, but looked at impartially, not much more so than the executions at Newgate during the eighteenth century, which were very likely more numerous, if less spectacular, only that they were distributed through the year instead of taking place *en masse* at an annual gaol delivery. Both this custom, and that of human sacrifices at a royal funeral, would no doubt have been abolished in time, had the Gold Coast authorities maintained a consistently just and friendly attitude

* R. A. Freeman, "Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jaman." London, 1898.

while abstaining from forcible interference—just as Cetshwayo was doing his best to abolish witch-trials and modify, or repeal, the old severe marriage-laws. In any case, as Miss Colenso remarked, apropos of the second war, one does not see how the killing of some people at their king's death could be remedied by the killing of a far larger number when the king had *not* died.

All these sickening blunders—which, if not actually crimes, are worse in that they are less easily remediable—are largely due to an assumption made by governments from the political, and missionaries from the theological standpoint—namely, that all the ideas, customs and institutions of an uncivilised and non-Christian people must be only evil continually. It is strange how very few missionaries, till quite recent times, have really appreciated St. Paul's words to the men of Athens and Lystra. Some, indeed, have almost come to think, like the late Dean Farrar, that St. Paul needed to be guarded against himself. Every "heathen" polity was a thing to be smashed or undermined, as soon as might be. Despotism was a good thing, if the missionary could get the chief on his side and make him into a Constantine in a small way—otherwise everything was done to inculcate the liberty of the subject.* The Government of Natal acted on this principle in removing the hereditary chiefs of tribes and appointing men who—as aliens, or nobodies among their own people—would be subservient instruments in the hands of the Secretary for Native Affairs. When the results of this system became apparent, there were bitter complaints—too late—that the chiefs had no authority and that the bonds of

* The late Jacques Liénard, of the Zambezi Mission, was at least consistent in his principles—or prejudices—like an honest French Republican. "*Je crois qu'il vaut mieux pas de roi que même un roi chrétien*" (The italics are his). *Lettres et Fragments* (Cahors, 1902), p. 161.

tribal discipline were weakened. In East Africa, where most tribes have no hereditary chiefs, the Government, making no attempt to understand the highly complicated system whereby successive bodies of elders carry on the tribal administration, insisted on appointing hereditary chiefs. Fortunately, they soon discovered their mistake—I hope, before it is too late, and have been doing their best to obtain the necessary information and administer the country by means of existing institutions. And, most happily, Basutoland and the Bechwana tribes have to a great extent escaped the reconstructing process, and so, we may say, has Uganda. But before we join in the chorus of self-gratulation which seems inevitable whenever that Protectorate is mentioned, I should like to ask you to consider very carefully the passages relating to it in “Through Central Africa,” by Messrs. C. Kearton and J. Barnes.* Having no personal knowledge of the country, I prefer to express no opinion.

But where the tribal system has been destroyed past remedy, what is to be done? Cape Colony has supplied the answer: grant qualified natives the franchise on the same terms as Europeans. I know all the objections, but the fact remains: no white man in Cape Colony would dare to treat a native as he is treated at Johannesburg, in Natal or in Rhodesia. That being so, it is absurd to say that the vote is of no use to him, or that he would not understand what to do with it.

I fully admit that it would be a mistake to force representative institutions of our own pattern on natives living under tribal institutions, ruled by chiefs in whom they have confidence, and whose power, in any case, is subject to the salutary check of public opinion as voiced by his councillors. Nor do I suppose that such a tribe would need “educating” towards

* London (Cassell & Co.), 1915, p. 88.

anything but the natural development of their own institutions. But where, as I said just now, the tribal system is destroyed past hope, some substitute must be found, and the only satisfactory one is the granting of the franchise. So far, wherever the need really exists, there are plenty of natives of sufficient capacity and education to understand the nature of the vote and make intelligent use of it. It is usually only those who wish, on other grounds to withdraw it, who would deny this.

This question has become a difficult one since the Union. It is of course unthinkable that the constituent provinces should continue to have different systems of native administration, and I fear that there is a strong body of opinion in favour of assimilating the more progressive Cape Colony laws to the unfair and reactionary class legislation of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. And it would be idle to deny that the extreme Nationalists are those who would, if they could, perpetuate an oppressive native policy. Nor is there much hope of good from the intervention of the Colonial Office—even though the right of such intervention was reserved by the Act of Union. We have too often stultified our action on behalf of the natives by ignoring the rights of the Dutch colonist ; or, again, while protesting against the oppression of the natives, have treated them with equal or greater injustice ourselves. The most we can now do is to back up what Colonial opinion, Dutch and English—and there is a considerable body of both—is in favour—I do not say of generosity, but of common justice and honesty, in dealing with such matters as that of the Natives' Land Act of 1913, which I cannot here discuss, but which is one of the pressing questions of the hour.

There are no people more law-abiding (when once they understand what is required of them)—more

loyal, faithful, devoted, patient under injuries than the South African natives, of whatever tribe; and I firmly believe that the "black" African, Bantu or Negro, whatever you may call him and wherever you may find him, has at bottom the same stuff in him. And that stuff is capable of a development we can scarcely even foreshadow. A critic remarked, some years ago,* "There is the fact that the one"—*i.e.*, the white races—"somehow or other have managed to become civilised, and the other"—the "black"—"unless under strong impulse from without, have not." But this assumes that all races start at the same time from a common level, like competitors in a race—which is not borne out by the facts of history. Where were the Teutons during the flowering times of Greece and Rome? Might not Cæsar have remarked with equal justice that the Greeks and Romans had somehow or other managed to become civilised, and the Gauls and Germans had not? It has been pointed out that in the fifth century of our era there is no indication that the Teutons (including probably the colonists of this island) had made any progress whatever in the three centuries since the time of Tacitus. It seems as though races remained, through long ages, to all appearances stationary (and yet many of the African tribes known to us can be shown to have advanced within historic times) like plants kept in the dark, to retard their flowering-time till it is wanted.

* *Standard*, Sept. 1st, 1905.

SPIRITUAL EDUCATION.

BY

EDWARD GRUBB, M.A.

By "Spiritual Education" I understand the development and training of the highest powers a man possesses: those powers whose exercise brings him into the deepest relations to his fellows, and links him on to the unseen universe whence he comes. I assume that man has this double environment: first the other spiritual beings, like himself, with whom he finds himself in contact, and second the Universal Spirit (whether regarded as personal or impersonal), of whom, or of which, each one of us, conscious and intelligent beings, may be regarded as a partial and imperfect reproduction. I assume, further, that man's true life is found in harmonious relations with this double environment: in the words of the Gospels, that it consists in love to God and love to man. Spiritual education, on this basis, will mean the development of such relations, and the consequent strengthening of the bonds that unite men with God and with one another.

This is obviously something more and deeper than the acquiring of true *ideas*. Intellectual and spiritual education are closely connected, but they are not the same. In the first place, spiritual education involves the *ethical* side of man's nature much more than intellectual education does. An intellectual genius

might conceivably be a moral monster, but a man fully developed spiritually would be the perfect saint. Then again, while intellectual education builds upon the data of sense experience, and trains in valid processes of logical inference, the experience that underlies spiritual education is rather of the nature of *intuition*. The spiritual world is the world of the great *values*—of everything that makes our life finally worth living ; and all perception of values, as of beauty and goodness, is of the nature of intuition. While it is usually conditioned by sense perception, and accompanied by emotion, it is in itself neither of these things, but belongs to a different category of experience.

I have dwelt upon this because I wish to bring out the thought that spiritual education should aim, above everything else, at the development of these deeper intuitions. Take, for example, the principle which lies at the root of idealist Pacificism—that of “ Human Brotherhood,” the “ Oneness of Humanity,” the “ Worth of Man as Man,” or whatever we like to call it. This I believe to be an intuition in the strictest sense of the term. It is not a proposition that, so far as I can discover, is capable of being proved by argument. It easily lends itself to sceptical ridicule—as anyone will be aware who has tried to prove it to white people in the Southern States of America. It is not apparent to the average schoolboy of the middle class, whose immature judgment is usually satisfied with the distinctions among men that feudalism has made familiar. But to every normally developed adult person, who is willing to put aside prejudice and accept the best he knows, it may become a certainty. He may not see all its applications ; perhaps none of us see them all ; but he sees intuitively that slavery is a monstrous wrong ; and that not less inhuman is the “ colour bar ” as practised in some of the Southern States—and to a less extent in South Africa—or the

spirit of religious hate in the Balkan States or in Ulster.

One of the greatest tasks of religious education should be the development of this primary intuition of human brotherhood, and of others closely akin to it. Among these is the reality and effectiveness of *moral forces* in keeping communities of men in harmonious relations with one another. Immoral forces, like national selfishness, it is perfectly easy to believe in; and so it is in material defences against them, like ships and forts and guns. The "natural man" assumes that other nations are actuated mainly by selfish motives, and that it is as necessary to arm ourselves in defence against them as to lock our doors at night. Anyone who suggests that spiritual and moral defences by themselves might afford sufficient protection is usually regarded as either fool or knave.

There is urgent need for a little sound psychology. People take for granted—especially most of our newspaper writers—that our human environment is made *for* us and not *by* us: that the attitude of other people to us is independent of our attitude to them: they tell us what we have to do is to face our environment "as it is," and not as we should like it to be. From the point of view of individuals, we know that this is mostly wrong: that to a very large extent we make our own environment. The suspicious man finds the people about him unfriendly; while the un-selfconscious person, who spontaneously trusts his fellows, finds the same people entirely friendly.

The surest plan to make a man
Is—think him so, J.B.

A striking piece of evidence showing the truth of this is given by Sir Sydney Olivier in his book, "White Capital and Coloured Labour." He says that in Jamaica, where the coloured population enormously outnumbers the whites, a white woman can go any-

where without the slightest fear of being molested. And this good feeling between the races he attributes to the fact that the missionaries have treated the negroes as human beings like themselves, and not as if they were an inferior creation.

The same principle applies to nations. A nation's human environment is very largely what she chooses to make it. Our people are persuaded to add to the navy for fear of a German attack ; but we overlook the fact that the German Social Democrats are only persuaded to vote the Navy Bill by the assurance that we and others are intending to attack them. Nearly everyone assumes that, if we had refused to increase our navy in proportion as Germany built up hers, she would soon have attacked us and swept us off the seas. The suggestion that an exhibition on our part of trust in the German people would have altered their attitude to us, and made it difficult for their Government to persuade them that our sea-power must be got rid of, seems to the average Briton mere sentimental rubbish. Yet it is surely common-sense ; it is only extending to communities the psychological principles which we know apply in the case of individuals.

So again in regard to the efficacy of *Justice*. It is the rarest thing to find people understanding or believing that the persistent practice of justice by a nation wins the goodwill and respect of others, so that they will not wish to attack it. I have found that people will assent to this when stated, but they do not seem to have a *working* belief in it. It is probably with them an intellectual judgment merely, and not an intuition of the deeper self. Penn's experience with the Indian tribes, who for seventy years remained the firm friends and supporters of his colony, just because he treated them as if they had been his own flesh and blood, seems to be either unknown or else meaningless

to most Englishmen. Yet no historical fact brings home more forcibly the truth that our human environment is very largely what we choose to make it ; for to the other colonies those Indian tribes were a constant terror. It should be noted that Penn's action was due precisely to an intuition : it was the direct outcome of the central principle of his Quaker faith, that there is in every human soul some measure of Divine Light.

To come nearer to our own time, one of the most flagrant examples of persistent injustice on the part of a great nation was the British Opium Trade with China. We went to war with China in order to force her to take opium from the Indian Government ; and after the House of Commons had, in 1891, declared the trade to be " morally indefensible," we continued it just the same. It is my own strong conviction that if the British Liberal Government in 1891 had had the courage to discontinue the traffic, and to ask the British taxpayer to make good the loss of revenue till the Indian Government could get its finances re-adjusted, our people would have willingly responded. And it is quite conceivable that such a proof of good faith and desire to deal justly would not only have greatly benefited us in China, but would have been enough to cut away the ground from those German writers whose function it is to persuade their people that British policy is incarnate selfishness. It might even have given us moral weight enough to prevent this war.

Another moral force of great importance is that of *Freedom*. Its effects in binding together communities, such as those that form the British Empire or the United States of America, are by many more clearly understood than the effects of just dealing, of which we have spoken ; but even here there is room for education to do its work. According to the *Nation*, a German

professor wrote lately to the *Cologne Gazette* asking what is the English "magic" that makes Irishmen and Canadians and Australians, and even Indians and Boers, come in tens of thousands as volunteers to fight for a country that has treated nearly all of them shamefully? And the answer, which he does not find, is that the chief ingredient of the "magic" is Freedom: the fact that most of these people, in spite of our many mistakes, have not been *over-governed*, but have been allowed to go their own way and govern themselves, even to the extent of being permitted to protect their own industries by tariffs against the mother country. The very looseness of the tie has been its greatest strength. The German professor does not understand this, and there are many of our own people who do not understand it either. Policies have been tried in most of these regions which, had they been persisted in, would surely have destroyed the "magic." And one aim of "spiritual education" should be to show to all our people that among the moral forces which make for the harmony of communities and the happiness of men one of the greatest is that of Freedom. Drill and discipline may make efficient machines, but only liberty develops true manhood.

Behind the widespread disbelief in these moral forces, there generally lurks the theory—sometimes consciously articulated, but often hazy and ill-defined—that a nation must always act in what it considers to be its own interest. It is not, I think, unfair to say that this is the theory that underlies the whole of our present international arrangements. Miss Petre, in her book, "Reflections of a Non-Combatant," says: "The Foreign Office of each country and its diplomatic service exist for the interest of that country and no other; they do not exist for the cause of humanity at large, nor for the disinterested pursuit of the good of all. Hence they do not exist for the cause of peace,

but to protect the interests of the country which they represent in time of peace."

It appears to me absolutely vital for the future peace of the world that this theory of national self-interest, and the diplomatic methods which are founded on it, should give place to something that more worthily represents our Christian profession—or, if the phrase is preferred, our present stage of ethical development. Often as the attempt has been made to found ethics on Egoism, or "enlightened self-interest," it has always failed, both in theory and practice. To name one objection only, the egoist never takes, or can take, a wide and long enough view of the conditions that must be fulfilled if his highest interests are to be attained—if he is to realise his true selfhood and fill his right place in the community. The path of true expediency is only discovered by those who aim at something higher than expediency. You cannot win the goodwill of other people by setting out to capture it as a thing good for yourself; but you will secure it if you forget all about it in the single-minded following of what is right.

What is true of individuals is true also of nations. No nation that directs its policy to the promotion merely of its own interests takes a wide or long enough view to advance its real and ultimate interests: witness our Opium Trade with China, to which I have already alluded. What we need is an international ethic, and a practice based upon it, which regards each nation as standing not for itself merely but for the whole. The doctrine of national self-interest must be replaced by that of national *vocation*: each nation, having its own particular contribution to make to the general well-being, its own note to play in the great harmony of the world, must seek to find the means by which this obligation may be discharged.

These are examples of the intuitions that it should

be the work of religious education to develop and strengthen: the primary intuition of human brotherhood, carrying with it the principles that moral forces like justice and freedom are more powerful and effective than material defences in preserving peace between men and nations, and that the true peace of the world will only be attained as nations, like individuals, discover means by which they may consciously devote themselves to the good of all—seeking “not their own things, but everyone also of the things of others.”

Finally, what agencies are there by which this kind of education is to be carried on? It is, as I have said, a part of *religious* education in the widest sense of the term; and religious education is not a matter of formal instruction. The idea that it is so is one of our favourite delusions. Religious education can only be the work of a truly religious person. Such a person will radiate, both consciously and unconsciously, his own faith and his own ideals into the people round about him. The supreme example of religious education is the intercourse of Jesus Christ with His disciples. Hence it is the parent or teacher who has the intuitions we have been speaking of, and whose life and practice are based on them, who will arouse the same convictions in children and young people.

That this is the normal and healthy way of developing belief in the principles of Pacifism, is shown, I think, in the experience of the Society of Friends—where, without much formal teaching, either at home or at school, the greater part of the young people grow up with as strong an intuition about war as they have about slavery. The conviction simply grows with them that war, so far as it involves the slaughter of human beings, is utterly and unmitigatedly evil.

Children are likely to grow up with an inward armour protecting them against the materialism that leads to war, if their *home* influence is spiritual: if they see

that the spiritual world is real to their elders and is the actual foundation of their lives. They can be trained towards the intuition of "human brotherhood" by being taught (by example, of course, even more than by word) to reverence personality in servants and workpeople, and to recognise the unreality of feudal distinctions. They can be shown the selfish and anti-social character of much of the competition that prevails in school and business and even professional life.

Certain lessons may frequently provide the teacher with opportunities for direct instruction on some of these subjects—particularly history. But on the whole I see no short cuts to the attainment of our ideal—only the old path, sure, if it seems often slow, of the conversion of individuals, and the spread of the truth through their faithfulness to the light that has come to them. In spite of all discouragements, this Conference itself is evidence that "the truth is great and will prevail." The very horrors of the war, and the awful burdens it entails, will, we cannot doubt, be the means of effecting many such conversions.

THE ONENESS OF ALL MOVEMENTS FOR SYMPATHY AND LIBERATION.

BY

H. BAILLIE-WEAVER.

IT would, I think, be impossible to classify and arrange under heads all the movements which at the present time are making for sympathy and liberation ; at any rate *I* am not going to attempt the task. It would, I think, be dangerous, particularly in a company like this, which doubtless includes active workers in many diverse fields, to announce a list of the chief of such movements, for people do not always agree about values or labels, nor do they always recognise the same thing under a different name. I shall not, however, I think, be going beyond the limits of the possible or the prudent if I proceed to enumerate what appear to me to be some of the chief of such movements, in all of which I have worked a little, in some of which I have worked a good deal. They are as follows :—

I.—*The Animals' Protection Movement*, with which for my present purpose it is appropriate to link the *Health Movement*, and the *Temperance Movement*, in its aspect as part of the *Health Movement*. Both of these movements aim at making a healthier humanity, physically, emotionally, mentally and spiritually, and in regard to both of them evidence into which I cannot enter now is, I think, accumulating that the use of the

bodies of sub-human animals for food or for scientific experiment—to mention only two of the practices which involve acute suffering to such animals—is an obstacle to the success of their endeavours.

II.—*The Woman's Movement*, with which with obvious appropriateness I link what I will call the *Child's Movement*, that movement which has caused some people to predict that in future ages the twentieth century will be called the Century of the Child.

III.—*The Labour Movement*, in which for my present purpose I include all movements (however they are called and whatever the particular remedy they propose) which aim at improving the conditions of the worker and giving him a greater share in the wealth which he creates. With that movement I link the Penal Reform Movement and the Non-White Races Movement for reasons which I will presently explain.

IV.—*The Pacifist Movement* as confined to an agitation to prevent, or diminish, the probability of war.

V.—Lastly, *the Brotherhood Movement*.

If I had more time at my disposal this evening, I should have tried to interest you by tracing out some of the points of contact which those movements for sympathy and liberation possess, which are greater in number than may at first sight appear. As it is, I must content myself with pointing out that different as are on the surface the objects to which each of those movements is specially directed, there is, nevertheless, I think, in ultimate analysis, one great object common to all, one supreme aim which each has in view. And if in truth there be one such great object, one such supreme aim, it is of the utmost importance to proclaim it, for then all those movements must be allied, must be akin—nay, more, must be really one—and the workers in each, realising that

oneness, must sympathise and, as far as may be, co-operate with the efforts and aspirations of the workers in all the others, knowing that in so doing they are at one and the same time helping the cause which they specially have at heart. A splendid and inspiring task, and one that badly needs doing, for, alas ! that sympathy and co-operation with the efforts of each other are not always found among the workers in those different fields. My regret is that the task is not in worthier hands, and particularly that it is not in hands less full than mine have been since I agreed to undertake it.

And what is that great common object, that supreme aim of all these movements? Why, surely to prevent the exploitation in all its protean forms of the weak by the strong: to emphasise the supreme law of human advance, voiced by Professor Huxley in his essay on Evolution and Ethics, in which he said that *Social Progress is synonymous with the Ethical Process*, which (and here I quote his exact words) "involves a course of conduct which in all respects is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence. In place of ruthless self-assertion it demands self-restraint: in place of thrusting down all competitors it requires that the individual shall not merely respect but help his fellows: its influence is directed not so much to the survival of the fittest as the fitting of as many as possible to survive." Pregnant words, with which in substance I cordially agree, though I draw from them arguments in support of all the movements I have mentioned, of some of which movements Professor Huxley disapproved.

I am going now to try and show very briefly that each of these movements for sympathy and liberation is obedient to this Supreme Law of Human Advance, and has in view this supreme aim of preventing the

exploitation of the weak by the strong ; and I am going, as far as possible, to draw my illustrations from the present state of affairs, in order to show that war not only provides its own particular form of exploitation, which strikes the imagination and consequently reaches the conscience more readily than any other, but that it also intensifies those other forms of exploitation which are always going on, whether in time of what we call " War " or what we call " Peace."

And first, *the Animals' Protection Movement*. I place that first because it combats what I regard as the grossest form of exploitation of the weak by the strong existing in the world to-day, by reason both of the aggregate amount of acute suffering involved and of the fact that the victims, being principally animals of the domestic kind, are absolutely dependent upon us and at our mercy by our own deliberate act for our own convenience. You know how many forms that exploitation of animals takes : how we make them suffer to give us food ; to give us " amusement " in sport or in public performances ; how we torture them at the dictates of fashion or in the interests of commercial greed, or in the vain hope of discovering through vivisection the means to combat disease. I have time to draw special attention only to three illustrations of that exploitation. Try and think what it means to the animals concerned when we are told that in less than the first three months of the present war every French and German cavalryman had " worked through," as they call it, *i.e.*, ridden to death or had killed or wounded under him, three horses. Note, only French and Germans, and only cavalrymen, and only the first three months of the war ! And yet three horses per man used up. Or try and picture to yourselves the aggregate amount of increase of acute suffering to the animal world which is implied in the estimate that twice as many animals

are being slaughtered for food for the men composing the different armies engaged in training for this war as before it broke out. The operation of transporting and killing animals for food causes enough suffering, God knows, in peace time, but in war time that suffering is necessarily much greater, when men are in a hurry and military considerations are paramount. And lastly think of the increase in acute suffering it means to animals when we are told that fresh physiological research is going to be undertaken at some of the base laboratories—where there will be absolutely no check on the operators, even of the most illusory kind—in the hope of discovering specifics against the special pathological conditions produced by or intensified by the war ; not to mention the use of animals to test the effect of gasses or explosives, to try high temperatures in balloons, or to open a way for troops by being driven into barbed-wire entanglements. If I may do so, I would call your special attention to this Animal Protection Movement, because in no direction, as it seems to me, are co-workers in those other movements so apt to be blind. They cannot see apparently that the spirit which makes for the exploitation they so heartily detest and combat in other directions is the self-same spirit which prompts the exploitation in this, and makes the oneness of this Animal Protection Movement with all the others.

II.—Next I will consider the *Woman's Movement*, with which I have linked the Child's. This is with especial appropriateness placed next to the Animals' Protection Movement, because women are the backbone of that movement, as they are of most efforts towards a nobler, more humane, more spiritual order of things, and there is no better way of hastening the advent of that order than support of the Woman's Movement. The participation of this movement in the great common object, the supreme aim of all the others, to

prevent the exploitation of the weak by the strong, does not need lengthy demonstration. Not that women as a sex are really weaker than men as a sex in anything but physical strength—and even that difference between them is very largely one merely of training—but their general status is so inferior to that of men that they are no better off than if men were in truth stronger in every sense, and they are consequently open to exploitation on every side.

At all ages both of men and women, in all classes, and in all relationships, that exploitation is noticeable; but for want of time I will consider only the home life of women and girls, in which, if anywhere, special consideration may be supposed to be shown them, and not touch on the exploitation of women in the labour market, or as instruments of sexual satisfaction to men, both of which are perhaps more often mentioned. I should however in passing like to draw attention to the special sex danger to women in districts occupied by enemy troops, and to the proofs given in history that war has never been waged without this appalling form of sex exploitation of women being more rife than in time of peace. In considering the home life of women I will begin by taking a working-class family, in which there are male and female children, and a mother who by her labour outside the home largely contributes to keep that home going—when she is not wholly responsible for doing it. Such cases are so common that in many districts of London, for instance, at least one-third of the children are kept by female labour. In those cases who does the house work? Why the wife of course! Just a trifle thrown in, as it were, which no one notices but herself. How often do you find the husband taking a hand, even when he is out of a job? But the children help, you will say! Aye, they do, sometimes when they are no more than five years old, and

frequently when they are more grown up and have to pass a good part of the day in school. And a gross instance of exploitation of the weak by the strong, it is, that they do so, with the added tragedy that it is their own mothers who, under the stress of circumstances and custom, are obliged to do them the wrong and set them to the task. But do *all* the children help? The boys as well as the girls? Let the report of the Medical Officer of the London County Council for 1910 answer the question. I quote his own words. "Little girls labour beyond their strength doing a hard day's work outside their school hours, step cleaning, baby minding, carrying bundles or running errands;" "Regular child slaves" that doctor calls them; for none of which laborious toil do they receive any form of remuneration. What then are the boys of the family doing meanwhile out of their school hours? Oh! they are obtaining employment, says that report, for which they are paid in money or food which they may or may not bring into the family store, or they are learning to hang round places where large numbers of people are employed and get scraps of food and half-pence from the workmen. In any case they are not helping mother in the home! Or take a middle-class family! If the money runs short in the family and there is not enough to provide education and a start in life for all the children, what happens? Why, all the effort and all the cheese-paring are done to help the boys, while the girls are given no instruction or training to fit them to earn their own living if they do not marry, and are thrown on their husband's purses for every halfpenny of personal expenditure if they do, so that, if their husbands so will, they cannot buy a postage stamp without their leave.

III.—I now come to *The Labour Movement*, in which, for my present purpose, I include all

movements (however they are called and whatever the particular remedy they propose), which aim at improving the conditions of life of the worker in the world and giving him a greater share in the wealth which he creates. With that movement, I link, as I think appropriately, another, that of Penal Reform, both as to the sentences passed, the punishments employed, and the general attitude towards those of our human fellow creatures who have come under the operation of our criminal laws, but whom I refuse, *on that account alone*, to brand as criminals. The born criminal, whether in the class of vicious degenerate or not, is, I think, very rare, instead of comparatively common as some think; and it seems to me that my view is borne out by the success of the Barnardo Homes and other kindred institutions, into which children are taken haphazard from the slums of our great cities, and in which nevertheless the percentage of failures is, I am told, as low as five. Even when a born criminal of any kind does come up for treatment by the criminal law, I consider the death penalty altogether inadmissible and the lash as revolting as it is stupid, even when applied to the back of a White Slave Trader. Most so-called criminals seem to me to be the result of evil conditions—evil either because they gave no opportunity or not the right kind of opportunity for doing well—the very conditions in truth which the Labour Movement is trying to abolish. And with that Labour Movement I link yet another, the Non-White Races Movement, a title I do not like, but use for want of a better. Not only does the spirit which lies behind the exploitation of the non-white races by the white, seem to me to be the self same spirit as that which prompts all the other forms of exploitation of the weak by the strong that I am considering in this paper, but even its immediately exciting cause in both

cases is largely the same, *viz.*: Greed for money. I believe too—despite the evidence, which some think to the contrary, afforded by the attitude of the Labour Parties in Australia, Canada and South Africa, to speak only of the British Empire—that the increasing success of the Labour Movement will mean in the long-run the increasing success of the Non-White Races Movement. Now what is the principal factor in that greed for money? I have no time to argue the point, but I believe it is dread of financial insecurity for self or family, much more than desire for power, luxury or social advancement, if only because those desires are not within the realm of practical politics for any but the few. It is that dread of financial insecurity, I believe, which makes the struggle between capital and labour so difficult of solution; which makes it so bitter, which turns all classes socially above Labour against it; which engenders so much suspicion on all hands; which makes really kindly people shut their eyes to the obvious wrongs of the present system and demand more repression as the remedy for the restlessness which those wrongs increasingly promote. And how war intensifies it all! Note the present clamour that military law shall be applied in the workshops, so that, if the toilers ask for an increase of pay in face of rising prices and threaten a strike, they can be taken out and shot, though the persons who are responsible for the clamour know perfectly well how small for most workers is the possible margin for saving out of the weekly wages; though they know perfectly well how much prices have gone up, and how large are the extra profits which the employers of those workers in many cases are making. Their own dread of financial insecurity in their own positions blinds them to the dread of it in those others and makes them cruel and unfair; they think the protests of those others are merely selfishness

of a particularly untimely kind ; they positively seek to explain the attitude of those others by imputing to them slackness and drunkenness. Yet all the time, all round them (as they here and there admit), those others are obeying the call of the Government of their country merely because, in probably the majority of cases, they think it right to do so, and are joining the army and navy literally in hordes ; are damaging their health and future efficiency by over-work in the factories ; are showing, in a word, a readiness to sacrifice themselves which should turn criticism into wondering admiration. Aye ! in deed and in truth is the Labour Movement a movement for sympathy and liberation, and one with all those other great movements I am considering.

IV.—*The Pacifist Movement* considered as confined to an agitation to prevent, or at any rate diminish, the probability of war, I shall not dwell on. I have already tried to show by reference to the present struggle how war intensifies all those other forms of exploitation of the weak by the strong which I have mentioned, and unfortunately we are hourly being reminded of the manifestations of that exploitation which we usually and rightly associate only with war, though in truth they are only peculiar to it by reason of the nature of the instruments of exploitation. As the Quakers put it in this year's "Epistle"; "War, we know, is but a terrible symptom of the still more terrible disease of self-seeking, which permeates our whole social system. In giving and serving, rather than in possessing and being served, so only shall we come to a state of society in which the roots of war no longer exist." I only pause for a moment longer on this movement to express the hope that, for a time at any rate, people will realise that there is no such thing as "Humane War," or "Civilised War." If I remember rightly, Mr. Bertrand Russell yesterday pointed

out that war is necessarily brutal, and tends always to become more brutal the longer it goes on. Any such expressions as humane war or civilised war are not merely flagrant contradictions in terms, but dangerous, because they tend to conceal the fact that it is the conception of international relations prompting to war and the political system encouraging it, which are the foes to overthrow, and not any particular method of waging war.

V.—And now I come to the last movement I shall consider, the one I have called the *Brotherhood Movement*. At all times, and at none more than at the present time, it is a relief to reflect what an immense amount of brotherliness there is in the world. That brotherliness (I may mention in passing for the benefit of those who talk about “Nature red in tooth and claw,” and thereby attempt to justify their refusal to help to stop some of the cruelty in the world for which man is principally responsible)—that brotherliness is not confined to the senior branch of the animal kingdom, the human, but extends to the junior branch, the sub-human, as is admirably argued and illustrated in such books as Howard Moore’s “Universal Kinship,” Kropotkin’s “Natural Aid,” and Seton Thompson’s “Wah!—the Story of a Grizzly Bear.” That brotherliness shows itself at the present moment in, among other ways, all sorts of organisations and associations, some of which are avowedly formed for the purpose of promoting it. Any one who has worked, as I have, among some of these organisations, who has come into touch, for instance with people in the P.S.A. Movement, in Men’s and Women’s Own Associations, in Adult Schools, in Labour Churches, in the Co-operative Movement on its non-profit-making side, and in Socialist Societies, will have noticed, as I have, how strong that note of brotherliness sounds out in the

lives and attitudes of many of those people, and will, I think, bear me out in the opinion that all these—and other associations one could mention, whatever their immediate objects may be, are really one great Brotherhood Movement, which is far stronger than is generally supposed, and is working in the direction of the lines indicated in this paper. Of course I admit that few of the people concerned would agree with all I have said or even assent to my main proposition, but nevertheless, whether they recognise it or not, they are, I think, working to get into the mental and emotional atmosphere of this country, thoughts, feelings and aspirations, which cannot be limited to this or that channel, but will one day burst all barriers, flow together into one mighty stream, and sweep away all the evils of which I have been speaking. I claim, therefore, that such a movement is rightly placed in the same category as those other movements I have enumerated, and shares with them their supreme and glorious common object, which, when considered as one, represents a mighty organised effort so to order things that no practice—no matter what advantage it may appear to offer—shall be admitted into civilised society, which involves exploitation of the weak by the strong in any form. The ultimate success of that effort is certain, it seems to me, however long it may be delayed, because it is in accord with that supreme law of human advance I spoke of at the beginning as having been voiced by Professor Huxley, and which, expressed in my own words, is this: that humanity can only reach its highest development through self-sacrifice, and not through selfishness, through an ever greater recognition and more constant practice of a brotherliness so wide, so all-embracing, that nothing shall be outside the magic circle of its love. For Love is the fulfilling of the law.

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The League of Peace and Freedom was formed as an outcome of the Conference upon the Pacifist Philosophy of Life, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on July 8th and 9th, 1915. Its object is to carry on an educational propaganda for peace in the widest sense. It is not intended to compete with existing organisations by taking part in direct political action or specifically advocating diplomatic international agreements.

Its method is the cultivation of individual character and, as a result, the modification of social conditions and of those forces of social thought and sentiment which produce corporate action.

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